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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER IX

In July 1870 war broke out between France and Germany. The first six months of the year had been a troubled time in France. There were scandals and plots which affected the Imperial family and régime; and in May Napoleon III endeavoured to strengthen his position by submitting his new and more liberal constitution to a plébiscite. The result gave seven and a quarter million votes in his favour (compared with the eight millions of 1852), and a million and a half against him. The big towns, with Paris at their head, returned as a rule anti-Imperial majorities, and there were over 50,000 votes against the Emperor in the army. After the plébiscite Count Daru, who had made a pacific but abortive overture to Germany at the beginning of the year, was succeeded as Foreign Minister in the Ollivier administration by the Duc de Gramont, a pronounced anti-Prussian.

Count Bismarck, who believed that a Franco-German war was inevitable and would unite Germany, and that the German forces were ready, was on the look-out for a cause of quarrel in which France should appear to the world to be in the wrong. The Spanish search for a king gave him his opportunity. Marshal Prim, encouraged by Bismarck, had fixed his hopes on a son (preferably the eldest, Prince Leopold) of Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a remote, and Roman Catholic, member of the great family of which the King of Prussia was the head. The negotiations were protracted over several months of 1869 and 1870, and the offer was more than once declined. But Bismarck, knowing well that France would regard with indignation the idea of a Hohenzollern of any kind on the throne of Spain, urged Prim to persist; and at last, in June 1870, Prince Leopold accepted, and King William accorded his permission.

These negotiations had been kept private, and the news of the Hohenzollern candidature fell upon Paris and the world early in July like a bombshell. Napoleon and Ollivier hesitated, but Gramont declared at once that the candidature could not be tolerated; the Paris press took up the cry, and the Chamber supported the Government in its vehement protest. Friends of peace, like the British Government and Queen Victoria herself, the King of the Belgians, and others, concentrated upon persuading Prince Leopold to withdraw his acceptance; and they succeeded on 12th July. But this, which appeared to the British Government sufficient, did not satisfy the French Government, which demanded that King William should associate himself with the withdrawal and promise not to authorise any future renewal. M. Benedetti, the French Ambassador, pressed this demand upon the King, who was taking the waters at Ems, but only obtained a statement that, while the King approved of the withdrawal, he must reserve his liberty of action for the future; and he intimated that he had nothing further to say to the Ambassador. The official telegram which reached Bismarck at Berlin, describing these events at Ems, was so edited by him for publication as to inflame opinion both in France and in Germany, and to make war, which was declared by France on the 15th, inevitable. In Europe, and especially in England, public opinion, which was ignorant of Bismarck's manipulation both of the Hohenzollern candidature and of the Ems telegram, put the blame of the war on France, which, after the withdrawal of Prince Leopold, had made an excessive demand on King William. Great Britain, like all the other Powers, proclaimed her neutrality; and, upon the publication by Bismarck of the draft Benedetti treaty of 1866[1] threatening Belgium, Mr. Gladstone's Government negotiated treaties with both belligerent Powers, giving Belgium a special guarantee of her territorial integrity.

When the fighting began, the strategy of General von Moltke soon secured for the Germans an overwhelming advantage. Marshal MacMahon was twice defeated by the Crown Prince on the Alsace frontier, at Weissenburg on 4th August, and at Wörth heavily on the 6th, and found it necessary to retreat to Châlons. Then, owing to a rapid turning movement by Prince Frederick Charles's forces, Marshal Bazaine was contained at Metz, and prevented from joining MacMahon at Châlons by indecisive but severe battles on the Châlons road on the 16th and 18th August. Thereupon MacMahon endeavoured to effect a junction by a northward march; but Moltke threw the German armies between the two, penning MacMahon on the Belgian frontier, where at Sedan on 1st September the French were completely defeated, and next day the whole of MacMahon's army, over 80,000 strong, capitulated, while the Emperor Napoleon surrendered, and was sent a prisoner into Germany. When the news reached Paris, the Emperor was deposed, the Empress fled to England, a Republic was proclaimed, and the Paris deputies, of whom M. Gambetta was the leading spirit, constituted themselves at the Hôtel de Ville a Government of National Defence. Part of the German armies remained in the east to invest Metz; the rest moved forward and invested Paris. Some *pourparlers* between Bismarck and M. Jules Favre, the new French Foreign Minister, came to nothing, mainly because the French took their stand on a refusal to surrender an inch of their territory or a stone of their fortresses. Metz and Bazaine's whole army of over 170,000 men capitulated on 27th October, thus setting free a German force of 200,000 men to cope with the new French armies which the energy of Gambetta was raising in the provinces in order to relieve Paris. Neither the gallant but spasmodic efforts of these armies nor the sorties of the garrison proved effective; and on the 27th December the bombardment of the city began.

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[1] See vol. i, p. 368.

After Sedan M. Thiers, the most eminent of living French statesmen, had travelled round Europe in the hope of inducing some Power to take action on behalf of France. His tour was without result; but, undoubtedly, the siege of Paris, the harshness of the German troops, the miseries of the French, and the increasing determination of the victors to insist upon the cession of Alsace and Lorraine (German in race and language, but French in feeling), began in the last months of the year to change the general sympathy, especially in England, to the side of France. This change distressed Queen Victoria, whose sympathies were naturally with Germany throughout, and who also observed with concern the ill-feeling against England which, owing largely to German ignorance of the duties of a neutral, was making rapid headway among the Germans.

The German victories smoothed the path for German unity. The princes, headed by the King of Bavaria, invited King William to assume the general presidentship of Germany with the title of Emperor; and on the 18th December a deputation from the Reichstag, which had passed the necessary legislation, waited upon the King at his headquarters in Louis XIV's Palace of Versailles, where, in the *Galerie des Glaces*, his Majesty's Proclamation to the German people was read by Bismarck, and he was acclaimed as "Emperor William" by a brilliant assembly of princes and soldiers.

The effects of the war were not confined to Germany and France. In Italy, the Œcumenical Council at Rome, after long and heated debates, adopted the dogma of Papal

Infallibility in July just when war had become inevitable. This increase of the Pope's spiritual authority was quickly followed by the downfall of his temporal power. Within a few days his French garrison was recalled to fight for its own country; and after Sedan, when the Second Empire had been overthrown, the troops of the Italian Government marched into Rome on the 20th September, meeting, in spite of the Pope's exhortations, with only slight resistance. A plébiscite in the States of the Church gave an overwhelming majority in favour of union with Italy, and King Victor Emmanuel entered his new capital on the last day of the year. The Vatican and its especial dependencies were left to the Pope, who was guaranteed his sovereign rights and a large income.

Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Chancellor, with the connivance of Count Bismarck, to whom the neutrality of Russia was essential, took the opportunity of the impotence of France to denounce on 31st October that portion of the Treaty of Paris, 1856, which debarred Russia from maintaining ships of war in the Black Sea. Great Britain made a strong protest, without appreciable effect. Eventually, Mr. Odo Russell, sent on a special mission to Versailles, obtained Bismarck's reluctant assent to the expedient of a European Conference on the matter in London.

While the war was in progress the Crown of Spain was accepted in October by Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, second son of King Victor Emmanuel, and the Cortes elected him in November. King Amadeo landed in Spain on 30th December, to be met by the tragic news that the statesman Prim, who had put him on the throne, had been assassinated.

As regards English domestic politics, two great measures were passed—an Irish Land Act, securing the Irish tenant compensation for the improvements he had effected, and an English Education Act, setting up in England, by means of rate-supported schools, a general system of elementary education. Mr. Forster's Education Act provided for Bible reading and teaching in these schools, thus opening a breach between the Government and the Nonconformists, the bulk of whom in 1870 maintained that in schools supported by public money teaching should be purely secular.

In October Queen Victoria sanctioned the engagement of her fourth daughter, Princess Louise, to a subject, the Marquis of Lorne, eldest son of the Duke of Argyll.

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CHAPTER IX

1870

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 26*th Jan.* 1870.— . . . M. de Lavalette[1] this morning read to Lord Clarendon a long and able letter from Count Daru,[2] on the subject of disarmament, which he wishes your Majesty's Government to recommend to the consideration of the Prussian Government—a task which, with your Majesty's consent, Lord Clarendon will be ready to undertake, though he fears that failure is certain with the King.[3] His Majesty does not desire war—far from it; but his army is his idol, and he will not listen to any proposal for its reduction or for any change in the Prussian system which compels every man to serve. Lord Clarendon has some reason to think that the King's views on this subject are not shared by the Crown Prince.

Memorandum: Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Secret.

10 Downing Street, 26*th Jan.* 1870.—The scope of the Irish Land Bill now in preparation is perfectly distinct, and is such as it is hoped your Majesty will approve.

The most crying evil, which has for some time afflicted that country, the only one of great gravity now remaining, is the prevailing sense of instability in the tenure of the soil by those who cultivate it, with the train of consequences following thereon in bad agriculture, low profits, popular suffering, discontent, and crime (of a special class), and recently in a real and spreading paralysis of proprietary rights, which are neutralised by intimidation.

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[1] French Ambassador in London.

[2] French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[3] Of Prussia.

As a remedy for these evils it has been proposed to expropriate the landlords by public purchase, or to reduce them to incumbrancers upon the land by rents either fixed or varying only within limits, and in a manner directed by law. To such plans your Majesty's Government can lend no countenance.

The object the Government have in view is to give, to the occupiers of the soil in Ireland, that sense of security which they require in order to pursue their calling with full advantage to the community and to themselves, and to do this in such a way as to create the smallest possible disturbance to existing arrangements, and to preserve, it might almost be said, to restore, the essential rights of property.

The most essential provisions of the Bill in this view will be:

1. To confirm by law the custom called the Ulster Custom.[1]

2. To provide for the occupier disturbed by the act of his landlord, where that custom does not prevail, a just compensation on losing his holding, either to be measured by other prevailing usages, or according to a scale set out in the Act, in consideration of the serious injury done to him, under the circumstances of that country, by the loss of his means of employment.

3. But to provide that by giving leases of an adequate length landlords may relieve themselves from the obligation to give compensation on this basis.

4. To lay down the principle that improvements

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[1] By the Ulster Custom, so long as the tenant paid his rent he could not be evicted; and on giving up his farm he could claim compensation for unexhausted improvements and sell the goodwill for what it would fetch in the market.

in agricultural holdings effected by the tenant are to be henceforward presumed to be his property.

5. To create a judicial authority in Ireland which is to apply the provisions of the new law. . . .

As in the case of the Irish Church Bill last year, so, and if possible, even more so, it is required by the public interest, that the intentions of the Government should be kept rigidly and closely secret, until the [time] shall arrive for their regular announcement.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

29*th Jan.* 1870.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's letter, with the enclosed Memorandum, and he may depend upon her considering it strictly private and confidential.

She can only express her hope that the proposed measure may be effectual in putting an end to the dreadful state of things at present existing in Ireland between landlord and tenant; and the constitution of a special court to give effect to the measure seems quite right.

The only thing the Queen would wish to remark is, the apparent want of sympathy with the landlords. It does not seem to her quite fair to impute to the landlord class the *entire* blame of the present state of things, and, as regards the tenant, it is scarcely right or expedient, she thinks, however real the grievance may, in many *instances*, be of which he complains, that he should be led to believe that the means, by which he seeks redress for himself, are either excused or condoned.

The Queen would, therefore, have liked, when the insecurity of tenure is spoken of, on one hand, as a grievance to the occupier of the soil; that the lawless determination neither to pay rent, nor to suffer eviction, should have been denounced, on the other, as a violation of the rights of property which could not be allowed for a moment.

Mr. Gladstone will see that it is not to the measure, which she is inclined to believe is founded on the right principle, but to the *preamble*, that the Queen objects.

She does *not* believe that insecurity of tenure is the only, or even chief cause of the present state of things; and at all events the only expression of sympathy should not be for the refractory tenants.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 1*st Feb.* 1870.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to transmit the draft of a private letter which with your Majesty's permission he proposes to send to Lord Augustus Loftus[1] to-morrow with respect to disarmament.

Lord Clarendon is convinced that the only chance of success consists in the communication being confidential, and not of a character that the King of Prussia might expect to see published. He informed Lord Lyons[2] of this opinion, which is concurred in by M. Ollivier,[3] as reported in the letter of Lord Lyons that Lord Clarendon begs to transmit. . . .

9*th Feb.*— . . . Your Majesty will regret to hear that the proposal for disarmament has proved a total failure, and that Count Bismarck refuses to show Lord Clarendon's letter or even to mention its subject to the King. . . .

12*th Feb.*—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to transmit Lord Lyons' letter of to-day. Count Daru seems to have taken Count Bismarck's unwillingness even to entertain the question of disarmament better than might have been expected; and if the French Government carry out the intention indicated by Count Daru of reducing the army without reference to the intentions of Prussia, it may produce confidence in Germany and be a useful weapon in the hands of those who consider the present war budget intolerable, and whose members seem to be daily increasing. An official application from France to disarm might have roused their susceptibilities, and their patriotism might have checked their inclinations.

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[1] British Ambassador in Berlin.

[2] British Ambassador in Paris.

[3] French Prime Minister.

Having your Majesty's approval, Lord Clarendon does not intend to let the matter drop, but he thinks it better to make no fresh move until he receives a formal answer from Count Bismarck, who, having kept a copy of Lord Clarendon's letter, will perhaps have shown it to the King, although he professed to be afraid of doing so. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 18*th Feb.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Education Bill for England was introduced last night, in a most able speech, by Mr. Forster[1]; and that it met with a highly favourable reception from the House almost without exception.

The prospects of the Irish Land Bill continue to be bright. The Irish Members yesterday held a meeting and, although they may ask for some further concessions in detail, determined to support the Bill. Any such further demands are likely to be only from a few.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Buckingham Palace, 9*th Mar.* 1870.—I saw Mr. Helps this evening at half past six, who brought and introduced Mr. Dickens, the celebrated author. He is very agreeable, with a pleasant voice and manner. He talked of his latest works, of America, the strangeness of the people there, of the division of classes in England, which he hoped would get better in time. He felt sure that it would come gradually.

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[1] See Introductory Note to this chapter.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

BERLIN, 12*th Mar.* 1870.— . . . Now I must give a message from Fritz, in fact it is no business of mine, but he wishes me to write it to you in his name, and to consider it *most profoundly secret.*[1]

General Prim has sent a Spaniard here with several autograph letters from himself to Leopold Hohenzollern, urging him most earnestly to accept the Crown of Spain, saying he would be elected by two-thirds of the Cortes. They do *not* wish the French to know it, but the King, Prince Hohenzollern, Leopold and Fritz, wish to know *your opinion* in private; as it is so great a secret, there is no way of communicating with Lord Clarendon on the subject, except your speaking to him confidentially.

Neither the King, nor Prince Hohenzollern, nor Antoinette[2] and Leopold, nor Fritz are in favour of the idea, thinking it painful and unpleasant to accept a position which has legitimate claimants. General Prim makes it *very pressing*, and that is the reason why they want a little time to consider whether it be right or no to give a refusal. Here no one as yet knows anything about it. Will you please let me have an answer which I can show the persons mentioned? Perhaps you would write it in German to Fritz, as it is particularly disagreeable to *me* to be a medium of communication in things so important and serious.

It seems the Spaniards are determined to have no agnate of the *Bourbon* family.—VICTORIA.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th Mar.* 1870.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to repeat the opinion he offered this evening that it would not be expedient for your Majesty to give any advice upon a matter in which no British interest is concerned, and which can only be decided according to the feelings and the interests of the family.

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[1] It will be seen throughout the letters of this year from the Crown Princess and other members of the Prussian Royal Family to the Queen, that the writers appear to be entirely ignorant of Bismarck's share in bringing on the war. See Introductory Note.

[2] Princess Leopold.

Lord Clarendon has little doubt that the proposed arrangement would produce an unfavourable impression in France.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 19*th Mar.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that Lord Clarendon to-day made known to the Cabinet the possibility that your Majesty's Government might be asked, at short notice, to concur in or support a representation likely to be made by France to the Court of Rome, in deprecation of the meditated proceedings of the so-called Œcumenical Council.[1] The Cabinet were of opinion that it would not be politic for this country, which was so vehemently excited on the subject of the Pope's proceedings in 1850, to remain silent, if the Powers in general saw cause to remonstrate against the proceedings now meditated: but that on the other hand it was not desirable that we should occupy a forward place, but should carefully keep ourselves, as not being a Roman Catholic Power, in the second rank. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Buckingham Palace, 23*rd Mar.* 1870.—Drove with Louise and the Duchess of Roxburghe to the Deanery at Westminster, where Augusta and the Dean met us, and took us to the Jerusalem Chamber, where the Convocation and Ritual Commission sit, and then over the Abbey, which interested me very much, but I got very tired. The newly cleaned monument of

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Henry VII was what they particularly wanted me to see, and it is beautiful, all bright gold. Went into the Deanery for tea, where, as last year, were assembled some celebrities: Lady Eastlake, tall, large, rather ponderous and pompous; Mr. Froude, with fine eyes, but nothing very sympathetic; Professor Owen, charming as ever; Professor Tyndall (not very attractive), who has a great deal to say; Sir Henry Holland,[1] quite wonderful and unaltered; and Mr. Leikie [? Lecky], young, pleasing, but very shy.

CLAREMONT, 26*th Mar.*—At eleven, when the messenger arrived, there came a note from Sir William Jenner to Colonel Ponsonby with the dreadful news that General Grey had had a seizure soon after seven this morning and three attacks of convulsions since! We were horrified, though I had foreseen some impending illness, as had Sir William. Saw Colonel Ponsonby and sent him up to town at once, to enquire, also telegraphed to Sir William Jenner to tell me the exact truth, and to poor Mrs. Grey. Most dreadful! Could think of nothing else. All greatly shocked.

Saw Colonel Ponsonby, who had returned, after tea. He had seen the poor General, who was unable to recognise anyone, though he could swallow. He is quite paralysed down one side, and Sir William Jenner thought his condition most serious. Poor Mrs. Grey was admirable, so calm. But to add to all the distress, and which is such a strange contrast, poor Sybil St. Albans[2] was confined this morning, almost at the same time, with a son, and she cannot hear of her beloved father's state, nor he, who doted on her so, of the happiness that had come to her! Again one of my most useful and devoted friends, likely to be taken from me! My children greatly distressed. Heard just before [dinner] that the poor

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[1] The well-known physician, 1st Baronet, at this date eighty-two years old. His son was created Lord Knutsford, and was father of the present peer.

[2] Duchess of St. Albans (died 1871), first wife of the 10th Duke.

General was worse.[1] Constantly thinking of him and his poor family.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1*st April*.—At half past eleven went up to town with Louise, Jane C[hurchill] and Colonel Ponsonby; going straight to St. James's Palace, to poor dear General Grey's house. Here we were met by the Duke of St. Albans and the girls, and I went in to see dear Mrs. Grey, whom I found so wonderfully resigned and patient in her grief. How I feel for her, having gone through the same terrible misfortune myself, and how truly and from my heart do I share her sorrow! After talking for a little while she took me into the room where the dear General lay, looking so peaceful, nice and unaltered, without that dreadful pallor one generally sees after death. His bed was covered with flowers, of which he was so fond. Poor dear General, I could not bear to think I should never look again on his face in this world! He was most truly devoted and faithful and had such a kind heart. His great worth, honesty, cleverness, charm of conversation, and his great experience will ever remain engraven in our minds and hearts, and make us deeply lament his loss.

Albert[2] was called in, and showed and has shown throughout the illness, so much feeling and earnestness! He had given his dear father, who was so anxious about him, much satisfaction. Dear Sybil having expressed a wish to see me, Mrs. Grey took me across the passage to where she was, looking so young and pretty. She was very calm in talking of her dear father, whom she much wished she could have seen again. I saw the little baby, a fine child, who was in Mrs. Smart's arms, the nurse who attended Vicky in her last confinement. The contrast between the new *life* and *death* was most fearfully striking! Spoke to the three dear girls and left at half past twelve. What a sad visit it was! Lenchen came to luncheon. She and Louise and all my children feel the dear General's death very much. There has been such intimacy between his children and ours, and their ages are much the same. My daughters looked up so much to the dear General.

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[1] General Grey died on 31st March.

[2] General Grey's eldest son, who succeeded to the Earldom of Grey in 1894, and was afterwards Governor-General of Canada He died in 1917.

Saw Sir T. Biddulph. Colonel Ponsonby[1] is to replace our dear General, which he himself had recommended when he talked of retiring, but the Tower house[2] is to be left to poor Mrs. Grey for at least five years.

7th April.—Our dear precious Leopold's seventeenth birthday. God has mercifully protected him again and again, and I fervently pray He may carry him through any further trials and dangers! He is so clever, so full of feeling and thought, that he may be able to do much good! Walked with him to the Mausoleum, Lenchen and Christian going part of the way with us. At this very hour the dear good General was being carried to his grave in the churchyard at Howick, where he had himself chosen the spot where he wished to be buried, when he was there last autumn! Sir T. Biddulph represented me, and we had sent wreaths, some of lilies of the valley, his favourite flower!

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BRUXELLES, 17 *Avril* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—J'ai appris *très confidentiellement* depuis quelque temps déjà, et d'une source que je crois bien informée, une nouvelle fort grave. Le Roi de Prusse, poussé par Bismarck, aurait le désir de se faire proclamer Empereur d'Allemagne et de réunir les états du midi à la Confédération du nord. Des négotiations secrètes se poursuivent dans ce but à Stuttgardt et à Munich; le projet, que l'on

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[1] See Preface in vol. i.

[2] In Windsor Castle.

cache soigneusement, serait mis à exécution avant les élections, dans la seconde moitié de cette année par conséquent.

Je conçois que le trouble où se trouve l'Europe soit une tentation pour Bismarck, et qu'il puisse chercher à profiter du moment actuel. Mais que fera la France ? Si elle est sage, pour parler de ce qui concerne la Belgique, la France devra s'assurer de plus en plus de la sécurité de sa frontière du nord. Nous pouvons là, en nous unissant étroitement avec la Hollande, rendre à la France *dans les limites de notre neutralité un véritable service.* Nous sommes prêts ici à marcher dans cette voie, et je pense qu'à la Haye on est dans les mêmes sentiments. La France en agissant autrement ferait de nous une *Vénétie* au lieu d'un bouclier.

De Paris les nouvelles ne sont pas très satisfaisantes ; l'Empereur se fait beaucoup de tort avec son plébiscite,[1] et par sa conduite fait douter de sa sincérité.

J'ai appris avec une satisfaction que je demande la permission d'exprimer ici le choix que vous avez fait du Colonel Ponsonby comme secrétaire, et j'espère que le Colonel portera aux affaires belges le même intérêt que l'excellent Général Grey nous a tant de fois montré en exécution de vos ordres. . . .

Je vous baise la main et me dis, pour la vie, Votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

The King of the Hellenes to the Prince of Wales.

ATHENS, 11*th*/23*rd April* 1870.— . . . I really don't know how I dare write to you after the terrible and horrible tragedy which happened the day before yesterday.[2] You will excuse me if I do so, but I feel so dread-

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[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] A party of tourists, mainly English, who set out from Athens for Marathon on 11th April, on the assurance of the Greek Government that Attica was safe, were captured by brigands on the same afternoon and held to ransom. Lord Muncaster, one of the captives, was allowed to go to Athens to make the necessary arrangements

fully wretched and unhappy that it is impossible for me to do otherwise. I am sure you know now what has occurred, that these rascals here killed three English gentlemen and one Italian. I was at the time of their capture in the Islands with Olga, and learnt this nearly a week after, on our return from this trip to the Archipelago. I can scarcely tell you how indignant I was to hear of their capture, and now they are murdered. I feel as if I was going mad, I am so unhappy, and that is useless now, as these poor fellows are dead. One of them, Lord Muncaster, was saved, because these rascals sent him into Athens to get the money they wanted. That was on the same day they were captured. The day after the brigands changed their mind, and wanted both money and an armistice [? amnesty], but the latter it was impossible to give them. I offered to go myself in their place, but nobody would allow me to do so. I did, however, all I possibly could. All the measures afterwards were taken together with Mr. Erskine,[1] and the only thing to be done was to send troops from here to surround the brigands without attacking them, in order to prevent their taking the prisoners out of this province. The man who was sent with the troops was an old officer, aide-de-camp to General Church, and chosen by Mr. Erskine. He had orders only to surround them and not to attack

and to take the ladies of the party with him. The money (£25,000) was promised and was on its way; but the Greek troops, disregarding a pledge not to take action against the brigands pending the negotiations, drew a cordon round them and on the 21st April fired on them. Whereupon the brigands on that day in cold blood murdered their hostages: Mr. E. H. C. Herbert, Secretary to the British Legation in Athens, first cousin of the 4th Earl of Carnarvon (twice Colonial Secretary); Mr. Frederick Vyner, brother-in-law and cousin of Earl de Grey and Ripon (created in 1871 Marquis of Ripon), Lord President of the Council in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry; Mr. Lloyd, an engineer; and the Secretary of the Italian Legation at Athens. These events brought down in England a storm of reproach on the Greek Government for its incompetence, if not treachery. M. Soutzo, the Minister of War, resigned; and several brigands, including the bulk of the guilty band, were eventually captured and executed.

[1] British Minister at Athens.

them. He adhered to these orders and treated with these rascals, and offered them the money and a vessel to bring them away where they liked, on condition that they would surrender the prisoners, but they would not hear of anything of the kind. The aide-de-camp offered himself as a hostage for the prisoners, but it was useless.

The day before the catastrophe the English gentlemen wrote to Mr. Erskine and the Italian Minister, that the brigands wanted to go to another place not far from where they were, and they got this permission, so that orders were given to open the cordon and let the brigands pass, but to surround them again afterwards. This was unhappily a mere pretext on the part of the brigands, for before waiting for the answer they left, and crossed a river in the greatest hurry. The troops saw this and remained in position without attacking, because the old officer who commanded them thought that by this he could save their lives. But the brigands ran and forced the unfortunate captives to run also. Mr. Herbert, the Secretary, an excellent man, was the first killed, because he could not run any further. Some hundred yards further they found Mr. Lloyd, and the Italian Secretary, and that poor young man, Mr. Vyner. (They were seven hours further on, near Thebes.) The troops seeing that Herbert was killed, fired on the brigands and shot some of them, but unfortunately they could not save the remaining captives. They killed nearly all the brigands, twenty-nine of them ; only nine remaining, whom I trust they will find and kill likewise.

To-day is the funeral at four o'clock, and I am going there myself in an hour. I assure you, my dear brother, I am the most unhappy man in the world. I shall never get over this all my life. How I pity poor Lord and Lady De Grey, and Mr. Vyner's mother ! I cry like a child when I think of this. As soon as I got the news I went to see Mr. Erskine. I wished to say something to him, but what could I say? Could that make it better? Please do not be angry with me if I write to you at this moment, but I feel so very unhappy and desperate. Could you express any words of regret to Lord De Grey from me? If you think so, pray do! or perhaps it is better not. I did not let Lord or Lady Suffield go anywhere without my being with them, but when this party arrived, I was absent, and I did not know Lord and Lady Muncaster, or Mr. Vyner.

A rigid examination is commenced to ascertain the truth. Many say the Opposition has made this *coup* (but without for an instant believing that this catastrophe would be the result) in order only to discredit the Government in the eyes of the public, and this, because everything was so improving. I consider this likely, but I myself believe that the Minister of War, Soutzo, has not done his duty. It was his duty to know whether there were brigands or not in the province, and he and he alone ought to know what goes on in this province, as all his property is in it. If only I could get him condemned! I shall do my utmost to find out the truth of this terrible and horrible affair, and then let you know. Now good-bye, and once more excuse my writing to you. . . .

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

1*st May* 1870.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to forward the last letters of Lord Lyons and Mr. Odo Russell. The *Schema* on Infallibility was distributed yesterday to the "Fathers," and there can be little doubt that the Pope will have everything his own way, as Mr. O. Russell predicted would be the case even before the Council[1] assembled. The opposition of certain Bishops and the vacillation of all the Catholic Governments have only served to make more manifest the power of the Pope, and his safe reliance on ignorance and superstition. . . .

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[1] The Œcumenical Council at Rome. See Introductory Note.

3rd May.—Lord Clarendon . . . humbly begs to transmit the letters of Lord Bloomfield, Lord A. Loftus, Mr. Lumley, and Mr. Morier; the three last relate almost exclusively to the project for unifying Germany and making the King Emperor, and the evidence seems conclusive that the project has been seriously entertained. The King of Prussia's denial given to M. Benedetti and telegraphed by Lord A. Loftus, does not, in Lord Clarendon's opinion, go further than to show that the project is suspended but not abandoned.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 1*st June* 1870.

DEAREST BERTIE,— . . . Now that Ascot Races are approaching, I wish to *repeat earnestly and seriously*, and with reference to my letters this spring, that I trust you will, . . . as my Uncle William IV and Aunt, and we ourselves did, *confine* your *visits* to the Races, to the *two* days *Tuesday* and *Thursday* and *not* go on *Wednesday* and *Friday*, to which William IV never went, nor did *we*. . . .

If you are anxious to go on those *two* great days (though I should prefer your not going *every year* to *both*) there is no *real* objection to *that*, but to the other days there is. Your example can do *much* for good, and may do an immense deal for evil, in the present day.

I hear every true and attached friend of ours expressing *such anxiety* that you should gather round you the really good, steady, and distinguished people. . . .

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 5*th June* 1870.— . . . I fear, dear Mama, that no year goes round without your giving me a jobation on the subject of racing. You know how utterly and entirely I disapprove of what is bad about them; and therefore I think much may be done in trying to elevate what has always been the great national sport of this country. If it was not national it would long have ceased to exist.

Should we shun races entirely we should no doubt win the high approval of Lord Shaftesbury and the Low Church party, but at the same time the racing would get worse and worse, and those pleasant social gatherings would cease to exist. . . . The Tuesday and Thursday at Ascot have always been looked upon as the great days, as there is the Procession in your carriages up the course, which pleases the public and is looked upon by them as a kind of annual pageant. The other days are, of course, of minor importance, but when you have guests staying in your house they naturally like going on those days also, and it would I think look both odd and uncivil if I remained at home, and would excite much comment if I suddenly deviated from the course which I have hitherto adopted.

If I went to most of the small race meetings, people might have a right to complain; but as I do not do so, and only go to Epsom, Ascot, and Goodwood (and certainly not every year to the latter), I do not think my example in that respect could be disapproved.

I am always most anxious to meet your wishes, dear Mama, in every respect, and always regret if we are not quite *d'accord*—but as I am past twenty-eight and have some considerable knowledge of the world and society, you will, I am sure, at least I trust, allow me to use my own discretion in matters of this kind; and whatever ill-natured stories you may hear about me, I trust you will never withdraw your confidence from me till facts are proved against me. Then I am ready to submit to anything. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 11*th June* 1870.—I omitted posting in, on the day I received it, a notice of the death of

C. Dickens.[1] Mr. Helps telegraphed it. He is a very great loss. He had a large, loving mind and the strongest sympathy with the poorer classes. He felt sure that a better feeling, and much greater union of classes would take place in time. And I pray earnestly it may.

Windsor Castle, 27*th June.*—Just as we got into the carriage to drive down to Frogmore, Janie E[ly] came with a telegram from Constance Stanley, saying that Lord Clarendon had died at six this morning. This shocked us very much. I had feared the worst, knowing that he had been in a bad state of health for the last year, but never expected so rapid an end. He is in many ways a great loss, for he was very clever, had great experience and knowledge of foreign affairs and countries, and was very conciliatory. He was very satirical, and could be irritable and hasty, but he was much attached to me, was warm-hearted and an excellent husband and father, being adored by his family, for whom I feel deeply.

29*th June.*—Heard that our beloved Sir James [Clark][2] had passed away quite peacefully this afternoon at three! I cannot realise it! He too gone, that dear kind intimate friend of thirty-five years, who had been with me when my nine children were born, and was with us at Frogmore, in the room, when beloved Mama died. How he supported and kept me up when dearest Albert was ill, and was in the room when all ended. He to whom I could say almost anything, who was so wise, so discreet, is also taken from me. Really this has been a dreadful year and most fatal to those connected with me. How thankful I am I went to see dear Sir James.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

16 Bruton Street, 4*th July* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and

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[1] Dickens died on 9th June.

[2] The Queen's physician, whom she had visited two days before.

begs to say that he has had two *very confidential* interviews with the Duke of Richmond and Lord Cairns, and at the last they came to an understanding as to the manner in which the Irish Land Bill should be settled in both Houses.

No one but Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Fortescue knows of the negotiation.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

POTSDAM, *6th July* 1870.—After the Spanish Crown had been *decidedly refused* by the Hohenzollerns and the King, the *former* have been applied to again, and having changed their minds meanwhile seem likely to accept it; much to the King's and Queen's annoyance, who wisely keep out of the matter and have nothing more to do with it, dreading, as we do, that complications may arise for Prussia, as it is easy more or less to identify the Hohenzollerns with us and with our Government. I fear it is a sad mistake on the part of the Hohenzollerns, though I have no doubt that Leopold and Antoinette are as fitted for such a place as the young Duke of Genoa,[1] or many of the others who have been named. Still I cannot but regret their decision, not for Spain but for themselves and us. Fritz will send you a little memorandum on the subject by messenger; he wishes you should know his opinion on this vexed subject.

Memorandum by the Crown Prince of Prussia.

[*Translation.*]

Most confidential and private; and on no account for circulation.

During the winter of 1870, the Spanish Government enquired of the Prince of Hohenzollern whether one of his sons was willing to become a candidate for the Spanish throne, and the Prince then thought that his youngest son Frederick would be the nominee: the position of Leopold, the hereditary Prince, as heir in entail, and the arrangements of the family, appeared to offer obstacles too great to allow of his entertaining any such offer.

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[1] Who was offered and refused the Spanish Crown in 1869. See vol. i, p. 574.

The permission of H.M. the King, as head of the family, was obtained, and the offer made to Prince Frederick of Hohenzollern, but he at once and decidedly declined it, as he felt no inclination for such a position. His Majesty declared that he did not advise the Prince to accept the offer, and still less did the King express any command upon the matter. In consequence this refusal of the Spanish throne was officially notified at Madrid. Marshal Prim, however, seemed always to look for a change of mind on the part of the Hohenzollern family, and always in a certain way kept the door open for a "last word of all." Such a change of mind did ultimately really take place, for after much consideration the Prince and Hereditary Prince made some preliminary arrangements, with regard to the entail and hereditary claims; still in consequence of their previously notified refusal, they were unwilling again to take the initiative.

When this state of affairs became known at Madrid, fresh communications were opened[1] by Marshal Prim with the Hohenzollern family, the result of which was, that the Hereditary Prince consented to become a candidate, and then sought the permission of H.M. the King.

The King was disagreeably surprised at the reappearance of a question which his Majesty had considered to be entirely disposed of, and only gave his consent when the Prince expressed his wish for the position.

From the above statement it is evident what little justification there exists for the storm of passion which has arisen in France; but on the other hand it must be admitted that the position of Prussia would not allow her to refer this question to mediation.

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[1] At Count Bismarck's instance—a fact of which no doubt the King and the Crown Prince were ignorant. See Introductory Note.

In the interests of peace it would certainly be most desirable if the English Government would endeavour calmly to influence the Emperor Napoleon and his Government.

Earl Granville[1] *to Queen Victoria.*

LONDON, 10*th July* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The Emperor of the French has asked the King of the Belgians to use his Majesty's influence with Prince Hohenzollern to withdraw his acceptance. The King has written the most pressing letter to that effect.

It is a question which Lord Granville feels some hesitation in bringing before your Majesty, whether your Majesty should make a personal appeal to the Prince and Princess Leopold, or to some one who has influence over them. Mr. Gladstone is out of town, but Lord Cowley agrees with Lord Granville in thinking that no effort ought to be neglected, which could tend to prevent so fearful a calamity as war.

After the letter of the Crown Princess, there ought to be no difficulty as regards the King of Prussia in taking such a course; the argument seems to be that nothing was more natural than that the Prince should accept an offer spontaneously made to him by Spain, which would place him in a position to be of great use to, and perhaps to regenerate, a nation. The task in any case was difficult for a foreigner, but, if received with tolerable unanimity in Spain, and supported by the goodwill of Europe, it was possible.

Since his acceptance the data for his decision have entirely changed. France, the immediate and powerful neighbour of Spain, has declared her determination to resort to the last extremity to prevent the accomplishment of this plan. Criticise the justice of the French policy as we may, no one doubts that France is in earnest. How does this affect Prince Hohenzollern personally or as regards Germany and Spain ?

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[1] Lord Granville had become Foreign Secretary on Lord Clarendon's death.

It is not improbable that there will be no majority for the Prince in the Cortes, but, even if there is, how will he get to Spain, and, when there, what chance has a monarchy connected with an European conflagration, and opposed by France either by war, or by encouragement given to all the hostile parties in Spain, to establish itself ? Under the menace of the French it is difficult for North Germany to make any concession, or to discourage the Prince in his candidature. But is this not an additional reason for the Prince to save the Sovereign whom he serves, and the country to which he belongs, from all the horrors, and possible risk, of a great war ?

As to Spain, it would probably throw her back for years, destroy her chance of consolidating her institutions, and give her up to the chance of anarchy and disorder.

Your Majesty knows whether there are not questions of domestic comfort, which would prevent the Prince from exposing his family to all the perils of such an uncertain enterprise.

Lord Granville believes that, up to this time, Prince Leopold has been on very friendly terms with the Emperor of the French.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

[Copie.]

Très confidentielle. BRUXELLES, 10 *Juillet* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Tout ce qui s'est passé pendant la semaine dernière est fort menaçant pour la paix de l'Europe.

A la demande *pressante* mais *très secrète* de

l'Empereur Napoléon j'ai écrit hier soir au Prince Léopold de Hohenzollern pour lui dire que de sa sagesse, de son désistement au trône d'Espagne, dépendait le repos du monde. Je trouve que tous les amis du Prince devraient se donner le mot pour lui déconseiller une aventure devenue du reste aujourd'hui tout à fait impossible. Il est clair que si la France, le jour où le Prince de Hohenzollern mettrait le pied en Espagne, bloque les ports et lâche sur ce malheureux pays tous les exilés et tous les prétendants, elle n'aura pas même besoin de son armée pour renverser le souverain qui lui déplaît.

On dit que personnellement le Prince ne se soucie pas beaucoup de l'Espagne, mais que sa femme, qui s'ennuie à Dusseldorf, l'y pousse. Je pense, chère Cousine, qu'il serait très utile si Hélène écrivait un peu fortement contre cette folie. Je ne pensais pas que l'histoire si terrible de ce pauvre Max[1] aurait été si tôt oubliée. La fin si triste et si prématurée de la charmante Stéphanie[2] devrait seule suffire à mettre les Hohenzollern en garde contre les tentations du midi.

Les journaux français, qui sont toujours si exagérés, ont persuadé que c'était moi qui avait dernièrement en Angleterre négocié cette candidature Hohenzollern. *Cela est tout à fait faux ;* personne ne m'en a jamais parlé, et je n'en ai jamais parlé à personne, n'y ayant même jamais pensé. Je condamne cette affaire comme insensée.

Je trouve, chère Cousine, que nous devons tous agir très fortement sur le Prince de Hohenzollern pour qu'il se désiste. Je trouve ensuite que les Puissances non engagées devraient, s'il m'est permis d'émettre un avis, agir à Paris pour calmer le Gouvernement et par lui la presse. Si le Gouvernement et la presse françaises défient tous les matins et injurient grossièrement la Prusse, il est évident qu'ils vont tout gâter, engager l'amour-propre de l'Allemagne et rendre *impossible* la *renonciation* du Prince de Hohenzollern qu'ils nous demandaient d'obtenir.

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[1] The Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother-in-law of King Leopold II, Emperor of Mexico for a few months, tried by court-martial and shot at Queretaro on 19th June 1867. See vol. i, pp. 385 and 446.

[2] Daughter of the Prince of Hohenzollern, married King Pedro V of Portugal in 1858, and died in 1859. See First Series, vol. iii, chapters 28 and 30.

Des conseils de calme et de prudence envoyés de Londres à Paris et à Berlin seraient, selon moi, bien utiles en ce moment. La situation est très grave, et la paix ne tient, hélas !, plus qu'à un fil. Vos généreux efforts ont plusieurs fois, pendant ces dernières années, préservé le repos du monde; j'espère que cette fois encore ils auront un resultat non moins bienfaisant.

Votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

P.S.—Ma belle-sœur[1] est très affectée, ainsi que Philippe, de toute cette aventure.

D'après ce que j'apprends à l'instant, le Prince Père de Hohenzollern est très fort en faveur de l'acceptation du trône par son fils, la Princesse Mère est contre. Il paraîtrait que ce serait Bismarck qui aurait poussé Léopold à accepter. Ce dernier ne le ferait qu'à regret et il semblerait que si de Berlin on lui conseillait ou le laissait libre de se retirer, il ne demanderait pas mieux.

Je n'ai pas cru devoir m'adresser directement au Roi de Prusse, ni à la Reine, ni à Fritz, ni à Vicky; je pense qu'il faudrait pour parler efficacement à Berlin des voix plus puissantes que la mienne.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR PARK, 11*th July* 1870.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Granville's letter, relative to this most alarming Spanish question. She sends a copy of what she has to-day heard, from the Crown Princess, and also the Crown Prince's Memorandum. If

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[1] The wife of the Count of Flanders, King Leopold II's brother, was a sister of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern.

Lord Granville cannot read it and will telegraph back to that effect, the Queen will have it translated from the original at once.

The Queen has very strong feelings upon the subject of this conduct of the French. It is most preposterous and insulting to Spain, and a return to the ancient policy of France, which was so universally condemned. But in the face of such danger and alarm, the Queen will communicate what Lord Granville says to her Cousin the Count of Flanders, whose wife is Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern's sister. The King of the Belgians is doing *all* HE can to persuade Prince Leopold to give it up.

The Queen thinks all Lord Granville's drafts extremely good.

Queen Victoria to the Count of Flanders.

[*Copie.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 11 *Juillet* 1870.

MON CHER PHILIPPE,—Dans les circonstances *fort graves* où l'Europe se trouve tout à coup plongée, j'ai pensé que tu me saurais gré de te faire connaître le fond de ma pensée. J'ai jeté sur le papier quelques considérations que je te prie instamment de soumettre sans délai à la sérieuse attention de ton beau-frère Léopold Hohenzollern. Tu lui diras qu'elles sont extraites d'une lettre particulière que je t'ai adressée à ce sujet. Pour ne point perdre une minute, je les ai dictées en anglais à M. Van de Weyer, qui est en ce moment au Château. Tu voudras bien me renvoyer ma minute, et en faire *de ta propre main* une copie pour le Prince Léopold. Je suis fâchée de te donner cette peine ; mais il est de notre devoir de réunir tous nos efforts pour conjurer l'affreux orage qui menace le Continent.[1]

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 12*th July* [1870].—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is much obliged to your Majesty for important information. It would have been better if the King had been able to say that he was ignorant of the matter, that he had not given his consent, or taken any part in the matter. If he now intends to let Prince Hohenzollern retract his acceptance it ought to be done at once, as it is a pity to make any concession so late as to be of no use. The withdrawal would produce peace. But the French are determined to avail themselves [of the] start they think they have got. . . .

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[1] Owing to the numerous representations made to him, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern withdrew his candidature.

He is very glad that your Majesty has made a personal contribution to the efforts for peace. All the Powers are, Lord Granville believes, anxious for peace. With a few days' delay, the matter could be arranged; Spain is tolerably moderate. Prussia does not seem violent. But the latter is dilatory and France in a frantic haste; and this afternoon it looks like immediate war. . . .

The Crown Prince of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] NEUES PALAIS, 13*th July* 1870.

DEAREST MAMA,—By Leopold of Hohenzollern's renunciation of the Spanish Crown to-day all pretext for war on the part of France is removed. It must be admitted that my Father has acted in an upright and honourable manner, and has shown his decided love of peace. Leopold's conduct is not less praiseworthy, as he voluntarily renounced the proffered Crown for the sake of saving his country and Europe from the horrors of war. Napoleon has evidently made a mistake in his calculations, for the unwarrantable speeches of his Ministers showed a great desire for war. He must now show his cards and prove whether war is necessary for him, or whether he is content to do without bloodshed. Should fresh demands be made upon us, however, he will meet with a unanimous expression of German feeling and anger that will cost him dear. Already German feeling is wounded, as I have seldom seen it amongst peaceful people, and many a one will say that we have given way too much; but I say that, after the events of 1866, we can well afford to take a step which proves our love of peace, without laying us open to the charge of fear or cowardice, as was the case in 1850 at Olmütz!

May God grant that peace may be preserved!

I have just seen the Russian Chancellor Prince Gortchakoff, who entirely agrees with me, and is of opinion that the Great European Powers ought to give Prussia credit for her love of peace, so that France may have something to remind her of it in the future. . . .—FRIEDRICH WILHELM.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

16 BRUTON STREET, 13*th July* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Your Majesty will by this time have received Lord Lyons' telegram, which arrived at one o'clock, saying that the French were still doubting whether they had satisfaction as regards Prussia.

I telegraphed back to desire Lord Lyons, before the Council met to-day, to say that the request made to us, and acted upon, gave us the right to point out the grave responsibility of not accepting the renunciation by the Prince, and constituting themselves the aggressors in this war.

M. de Lavalette says that his Government are much embarrassed, but that he still hopes for peace.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

PALAIS DE BRUXELLES, *ce* 13 *Juillet* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Je croyais que tout serait fini quand le Prince de Hohenzollern aurait renoncé au trône d'Espagne. L'Empereur m'avait fait dire que la paix était à ce prix. Mais il paraît que les prétentions de la France grandissent avec son succès.

La renonciation est faite, mais on m'écrit qu'elle ne suffit plus, qu'il faut maintenant qu'elle soit notifiée par le Roi de Prusse à Paris et qu'on lui donne *un jour* pour s'y décider.

Si la guerre doit se faire pour *une nuance* aussi *puérile*, la France encourra une bien grande responsabilité, et je me demande comment on y tiendra les esprits au diapason d'exaltation où ils se trouvent d'ici à l'entrée en campagne, c'est-à-dire, près de trois semaines, sur une aussi blâmable donnée.

La Prusse avait commis une faute en laissant se produire la candidature Hohenzollern, mais la France en commet aujourd'hui une bien plus grande par l'exagération de ses prétentions.

Au point où en sont les choses j'ai cru qu'il était de l'honneur et de la sécurité de la Belgique de se mettre en mesure de faire respecter sa neutralité. L'esprit est excellent ici et j'ai la confiance que, si la guerre éclate, nous aurons une attitude qui nous vaudra votre approbation, chère Cousine.

Nothomb[1] m'écrit de Berlin que *dans son opinion personnelle* la Prusse et la Confédération du Nord interdiront, le cas échéant, à leur armée le passage à travers la Belgique et le Luxembourg (neutre aujourd'hui). M. de Gramont a donné verbalement au Baron Beyens, mon Ministre, les assurances les plus satisfaisantes sur le même point. Mais pour que notre position soit bien déterminée et à l'abri de tout péril il importe au plus haut degré que le respect de notre neutralité, au point de vue de la question des passages, fasse l'objet d'une déclaration publique de la part des deux parties belligérantes. Cette déclaration, c'est l'Angleterre seule qui me paraît pouvoir la proposer et l'obtenir comme prix de sa propre neutralité. C'est ce que je viens vous exposer franchement, chère Cousine, me confiant à cette amitié dont vous n'avez jamais cessé de me donner des preuves dans les moments les plus difficiles. J'ai cru pouvoir écrire à Lord Granville, dont j'ai reçu

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[1] Belgian Minister in Berlin.

ce matin une très aimable lettre dans le sens des considérations qui précèdent.

Adieu, chère Cousine ; je vous baise la main et suis pour la vie, Votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

P.S.—Dans le cas où la guerre viendrait à éclater, auriez-vous la bonté de donner l'hospitalité dans un de vos palais à nos papiers et bijoux de famille ? Peut-être voudriez-vous bien en ce cas faire écrire au Colonel Baron Prisse comment la chose devrait se faire ?—L.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 14*th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that this forenoon, at the instance of Lord Granville, he summoned the Cabinet to meet forthwith.

The Cabinet met at half past twelve, and after hearing the telegrams and principal despatches read, decided upon sending suggestions both to Prussia and to France in the hope, though a faint hope, of averting the guilt and horror of war.

The suggestion to Prussia is that, if France waive her demand for an engagement covering the future, the King shall thereupon in the interest of peace signify to France his consent to the withdrawal of the candidature of Prince Leopold.

The suggestion to France is that her demand for such an engagement cannot be justly sustained; but, notwithstanding that, we have suggested to Prussia as stated above, while we trust that France, having obtained the substance of her demand, will in no case proceed to extremities.

It was also decided that, in the event of any questions in Parliament to-day, Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone respectively should reply in general terms.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 14*th July* 1870 (6 *p.m.*).—The Queen, having interfered as requested, feels that this persistence of the French in seeking for further grounds of quarrel places her in a humiliating position.

Do not relax your efforts to induce the French to accept the Prussian answer as satisfactory.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

15*th July* 1870.—Prussia has refused our proposition of yesterday, and we make a last effort by suggesting to both parties to have recourse to good offices of some friendly Power or Powers under the twenty-third protocol of Paris in 1856.

" Les plénipotentiaires n'hésitent pas à exprimer au nom de leurs Gouvernements la vue que les états entre lesquels s'éléverait un dissentiment sérieux, avant d'en appeler aux armes, eussent recours, en tant que les circonstances l'admettraient, aux bons offices d'une puissance amie."

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

15*th July* [1870].— . . . Might it not be desirable for the Queen, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Holland, Belgium and Italy to make a combined appeal to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of the French, in the sense of your telegram 55 ?

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

15*th July* [1870] (3.45 *p.m.*)—I would submit to your Majesty that it might be at all events better to await the effect of the appeal to the protocol of Paris and communication to be made to-day to the French Chambers, before making any such communication to neutral Sovereigns as you suggest.

The French Ambassador has been made aware of your Majesty's personal anxiety that a peaceful solution should be arrived at.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 15*th July* 1870 (5 *p.m.*).—It has been suggested to the Queen that a personal appeal from her to the French Emperor might avert war. If you think so, telegraph such an appeal at once, dating it from Osborne.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 15*th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that at the meeting of the House of Commons to-day Mr. Disraeli made enquiries from the Government respecting the differences between France and Prussia, and in so doing expressed opinions strongly adverse to France as the apparent aggressor. Mr. Gladstone in replying admitted it to be the opinion of the Government that there was no matter known to be in controversy of a nature to warrant a disturbance of the general peace. He said the course of events was not favourable, and the decisive moment must in all likelihood be close at hand.

Before four came the telegram which announced the French declaration of war. It is evident that the sentiment of the House on both sides generally condemns the conduct of France. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

15*th July* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The last week seems like a feverish dream; the result to-day is dreadful. Everyone seems to have been in the wrong. The King of Prussia probably did not give his consent to the candidature of Prince Leopold, without the knowledge of M. Bismarck; the latter must have known how distasteful it would be, rightly or wrongly, to the French. The secrecy of the negotiation, and the suddenness of the announcement was discourteous. The violent language used by the French Ministry was undiplomatic and unstatesmanlike.

France is morally unpardonable, but perhaps militarily right, in making such haste. But it is inconceivable that, in the present state of civilisation, hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen should be hurled against like numbers of Germans, on a point limited to a matter of etiquette. Your Majesty seems to have done all that could be done; your Majesty contributed to put an end to the substantial cause of dispute. Lord Granville gave the substance of the telegram which he had received in the middle of last night to M. de Lavalette, asking him to inform the Emperor, but adding that he had no authority from your Majesty to do so. He did the same to Count Bernstorff, but on reflection begged him to cancel it, which he did.

Lord Granville cannot at present perceive what your Majesty's Government could have done more, or that they have done anything which they ought not to have done. For the present they must rest on their oars, excepting as to proclamations of neutrality, and the important question, which Lord Granville will bring again before the Cabinet to-morrow, whether any communication should be made to the French and Prussian Governments as to the neutrality of our neighbours.

The Queen of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

Coblentz, 15*th July* 1870.— . . . As soon as I heard of the Spanish candidature, I was opposed to it and raised a warning voice against it. Neither was the King in favour of it, but he found himself in the awkward position of having to oppose the veto of an independent person. Finally the decision was greatly hurried, and I only heard of it as a *fait accompli.*

If the offer had been of the same kind as that made to members of other houses (Belgium, Greece, etc.) I should have thought it quite right, but in this case, coming from a party leader, it appeared to me politically faulty both in principle and in reference to the many rival candidates.

This does not, however, in any way excuse the conduct of France and the rude provocation which suddenly changed good, peaceful, neighbourly relations into the threatening danger of a terrible war.

Why continually speak of enmity and hateful conduct when, as history teaches us, national misunderstandings can be settled by a rational handling of questions of common interest, which is proved by the former attitude of England and France, where the feeling of enmity has been changed into that of friendship ?

This policy of reconciliation too was making good progress in Germany, and neither 1840, nor the Luxemburg and other questions, had disturbed the good understanding.

Now the Emperor feels himself personally hurt, as the neighbour of Spain, as the husband of the Empress, as well as being concerned in the fate of the Isabella dynasty ; excited people and new inexperienced Ministers surround him, who will not settle the question peacefully, but who wish to make use of French Chauvinism abroad, in order that a favourable diversion may be effected in home affairs.

At first we were so surprised and had made so sure of peace that the violent language of France made no impression here ; even the King himself, only a few days ago, looked upon it in the light of an unpleasant but passing incident, which would have no results. Now, however, the most certain signs of real danger are not wanting, and the excitement corresponds with the former quiet and illusion.

The renunciation of the candidature was indispensably necessary and followed immediately in order to remove the principal object of dispute. But France *will* have war and insists on the King complying with her last demand and giving a binding declaration for the future, which as Sovereign it was impossible for him to do. This destroyed the effect of the renunciation, which ought in all reason to have been sufficient. Yesterday the King was obliged to leave Ems and hasten back to Berlin.

He arrived here a few hours ago and was received with such marks of sympathy by both inhabitants and strangers, that it amounted to an ovation, although naturally the country is tortured by anxiety.

Why must Germany suffer and Spain be spared ?

This *résumé* of the situation must conclude with the prayer that Almighty God may be pleased to prevent a war which would be fraught with horror for the whole of Germany, for Central Europe, and for civilisation generally.

How many poor Mothers will be praying with me for the lives of their dear ones, when they hear of the danger of war ! and how many a heart is trembling to-day in anticipation of fresh news which must announce the decision ! . . .—AUGUSTA.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 16*th July* 1870.—Was prepared for the necessity for a Council on account of this iniquitous war. It can be at one on Monday. But steps should be taken for our safety in case of need. Parliament should not separate without some measures being taken to increase our efficiency in Army and Navy. No one can tell what we may not be forced into. This is an absolute necessity for the security of our beloved country and people.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 16*th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet met this day at noon,

and sat for near four hours. Mr. Childers was able to attend.

It being uncertain at what particular moment a state of war on the Continent will be established, it was determined to frame and keep in readiness a proclamation of neutrality, and to pray your Majesty, through Lord Halifax, to allow the engagement for a Council on Monday to stand over, in case the time should not have arrived by to-morrow evening for the issue of such a proclamation.

It was determined to introduce a Bill into Parliament to enlarge the powers of your Majesty's Government for the seizure of vessels suspected of being intended to serve the purpose of belligerents. A variety of other points connected with the duties of neutrals were considered.

With reference to the subject of the telegram, which Mr. Gladstone had the honour to receive from your Majesty this morning, he believes he would be justified in stating, that the defensive means of this country are greater than they have been at any period since the peace of 1815, except in the year 1856 before the War Establishments had been reduced.

The subject of these Establishments was brought before the Cabinet. The Cabinet considered that it would be impolitic in a high degree to make any proposal at this moment to Parliament respecting the Army and Navy, on account of the shock it would give to public confidence with regard to the position of this country. Should a real necessity arise, it would be the plain duty of your Majesty's Government to act at once without the authority of Parliament, and to advise its being immediately assembled to pass its judgment on what they had done. The Secretary for War was requested to enquire and consider what could in case of necessity be promptly effected, and what means could be noiselessly adopted for improving our power of acting with despatch in case of need.

The Government determined that it would be well for them to continue to speak in public, and as far as possible even in private, with the reserve which has been hitherto maintained.

At the same time, their opinion is that, whatever may be said of the prior conduct of Prussia, France has entirely failed to show, in the circumstances of the present crisis, any adequate warrant for breaking the peace of Europe. This failure is accompanied, in the Ministerial statement of yesterday at Paris, with a hardihood of assertion, which it is painful to witness. But the duty of your Majesty's Government is to maintain that attitude of impartiality, which may fit them, at some future stage, to be of use to both the parties.

France has made highly satisfactory declarations with respect to the neutrality of Belgium. The Government will by acknowledging these declarations endeavour to give them all possible weight and solemnity; and will pointedly recommend them to the consideration of the Government of Prussia. They will also endeavour, without an official appeal, to learn how far Luxemburg may be included in these assurances. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*]

OSBORNE, 18*th July* 1870.—In the present state of public affairs when, as proved by the example on the Continent, Great Britain may be exposed to a sudden and unexpected attack at any moment, the Queen is anxious to be assured that the defences of the United Kingdom are on a satisfactory footing as regards men, buildings, and material, and since the Army and Navy are both on a peace establishment the Queen would be glad to learn what provision is made for immediately placing the services upon a war footing in case of need.

The Queen is glad to find from Mr. Gladstone's letter that the subject has not escaped the notice of the Cabinet, and her Majesty concurs in the opinion that it would be undesirable to create alarm by any public expression of anxiety on this subject.

Lord Halifax has shown the Queen a Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Cardwell, that there are 88,000 regular troops in the United Kingdom (a number in excess of that reported by the Commander-in-Chief) and that of these 20,000 could take the field at the end of three weeks if great exertions were made. The Queen cannot conceal her disappointment and uneasiness at this statement, which implies that in case of emergency England must be far behindhand with other continental Powers, two of whom have in a few days placed large forces in the field and are to all appearance ready for action.

As regards the Navy, the Queen believes that the British Fleet is in a state of great efficiency, but she has no reports from the Admiralty on the state of the seamen afloat, or the reserve, or on the power of increasing the forces at sea.

The Queen would be glad to receive an assurance that the state of her dockyards is satisfactory, and that they can be at once made available for war purposes if required.

Although the Queen feels confident that the efficiency of her Army and Navy has been the object of the recent reforms effected in these services, she considers it her duty to impress most strongly upon her Ministers the paramount importance of being fully prepared for any possible danger, which is the surest way of averting war.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 19*th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has had the honour to receive this afternoon your Majesty's letter of July 18th.

Mr. Gladstone is sure that all his colleagues are deeply impressed with the gravity of the present crisis. A war of exasperation such as this, between France and Prussia, comes nearer home to this country than any of the wars of this generation in which she has not taken part.

None of the great States of Europe have as yet given notes of military preparation; and probably, if they were to do so, it would tend to spread a general alarm. But your Majesty's Government are fully sensible of the necessity and duty of a careful survey at this time of the defensive establishments of the country, an exact estimate of what they in all likelihood can or cannot do, and a consideration of the means and time necessary for strengthening and enlarging them in case of need.

As respects the Navy your Majesty will not be displeased to learn the augmentation of available force in 1870 as compared with 1866.

Iron-clads in Commission	1866	1870
Ships . . .	13	23
Tons . . .	43,537	100,357
Men . . .	5,513	10,766

All these are at home or in the Mediterranean.

So much for iron-clads, which represent the most effective kind of force, apart from its mere amount.

In vessels other than iron-clads there is a diminution, but the aggregate of force is increased by about 20,000 tons.

Again as to the reserves:

	1866	1870
Iron-clads . .	7	8
Frigates . . .	3	5
Corvettes . .	1	5
Smaller vessels . .	7	15

As regards other points, Mr. Gladstone will make known your Majesty's wishes to Mr. Childers.

With reference to the Army, further enquiries have led to more satisfactory results than those which had reached your Majesty, with reference to our power of prompt and energetic action on a moderate scale.

Mr. Gladstone is assured that 20,000 men can be ready to quit the country in forty-eight hours: a promptitude greater, he believes, than that which at the time of the Trent affair excited some admiration. Having enquired as to transport for such a force, he is informed by Mr. Childers that it could probably be ready in three days: but this matter will be more minutely examined. And measures have been taken, which Mr. Gladstone hopes will, within a few days, place the Government in possession of pretty full information on all the points to which he has referred above as requiring careful examination at this grave crisis of European affairs.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] NEUES PALAIS, 18*th July* 1870.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I will try and write you a few lines. In the midst of sorrow and distress and trouble the thought of you is always a comforting and cheering one.

I saw the King yesterday. I never felt so much for anyone. He was very calm, but the load of anxiety seemed to make him ten years older; he had a quiet dignity about him which could only increase one's love and respect; if you could but see Fritz—how you would *admire* him! He thinks so little of himself and only of others. It is a dreadful trial for us, enough to strike terror into stronger hearts than mine; but the enthusiasm which seems to be the same with young and old, poor and rich, high and low, men and women, is so affecting and beautiful that one must forget oneself.

The odds are fearfully against us in the awful struggle which is about to commence, and which we are forced into against our will, *knowing* that our existence is at stake.

In a week the flower of the nation will be under arms—the best blood of the country. I cannot think of the lives that will be lost—the thought maddens me—how willingly would I give mine to save theirs! There is not a family that is not torn asunder, not a woman's heart that is not near to breaking, and for what? Oh that England could help us! I wish no ill to France nor to anyone, but I wish Europe could unite once for all to stop her ever again having it in her power to force a war upon another nation. Think of Hesse, of our lovely Rhine, think of our ports and sea towns. The harvest lost and thousands of poor creatures without work or bread! It seems all a horrid dream to me! Forgive my bad writing, my hand trembles so, and I cannot collect my thoughts. The parting from Fritz I shudder at! Alice and Louise of Baden must come to us; the King offers Alice this Palace, and I am preparing all for her in case she should come. The future is a perfect blank.

What suffering may be in store for us we do not know; but one thing we all know that, as our honour and the safety of our country is at stake, *no* sacrifice must be shunned. Our feelings are best expressed in Lord Nelson's words, saying *Germany* (instead of England) expects every man to do his duty. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 20*th July* 1870.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for the kind letters received to-day.

She is overwhelmed with letter-writing, telegrams and the terrible anxiety and sorrow which this horrible war will bring with it. The Queen hardly knows how she will bear it! Her children's home threatened, their husbands' lives in danger, and the country she loves best next to her own—as it is her second home, being her beloved husband's, and one to which she and all her family are bound by the closest ties—in peril of the gravest kind, insulted and attacked, and *she* unable to help them or to come to their assistance. Can there be a more cruel position than the unhappy Queen's? She knows what her duty is and will do what must be done, but she will suffer dreadfully. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 20*th July* 1870.

MY POOR DEAR BELOVED CHILD,—Words are far too weak to say *all* I feel for you or what I think of my neighbours! We must be neutral *as long as* we can, but no one here conceals their opinion as to the *extreme iniquity* of the war, and the unjustifiable conduct of the French! Still *more*, *publicly*, we cannot say; but the feeling of the people and country here *is all* with you, which it was not *before*. And need I say what I *feel*? . . .

My heart bleeds for you *all*! The awful suddenness of the whole thing is so dreadful. Do not overworry yourself, not to make yourself ill. Poor Alice makes us all very anxious, and she seems anxious *not* to leave Darmstadt. I have no doubt that you will both advise her for the best. My thoughts are constantly with you, wishing you two daughters could be safe here. These divided interests in royal families are quite unbearable. Human nature is not made for such fearful trials, especially not mothers' and wives' hearts. But God will watch over you all, I doubt not. You have the warmest sympathy of all, and all the people in the house take the deepest interest in you.

God bless and protect you, beloved child and our beloved Fritz! I have such confidence in *him*. VICTORIA R.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BRUXELLES, 24 *Juillet* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Veuillez recevoir tous mes remerciements pour votre bonne lettre du 20 et pour votre télégramme.

Je partage tous vos sentiments, chère Cousine, relativement à cette affreuse guerre. La France, on ne saurait se le dissimuler, veut s'agrandir et dominer le monde. Elle a vaincu la Russie, puis l'Autriche, elle attaque en ce moment la Prusse, il est évident qu'elle cherchera à abattre successivement toutes les grandes Puissances. J'espère bien qu'en Angleterre on sera sur ses gardes.

Bismarck a montré à mon Ministre à Berlin, *dans le sceau du plus grand secret*, un projet de traité écrit tout entier de la main de Benedetti. Il est composé de 5 articles. L'article 4 porte [que] le Roi de Prusse ne s'opposera pas à ce que l'Empereur des Français après avoir conquis la Belgique l'incorpore à l'Empire Français. Un autre article attribue à l'Empereur des Français la possession du Grand Duché de Luxembourg. Ces deux articles sont le prix des 3 autres par lesquels la France reconnaît tout ce qui s'est fait en Allemagne. Ce projet de traité a été remis à Berlin peu de temps avant l'incident de nos chemins de fer. Bismarck a dit aussi à mon Ministre que depuis 1866 la France n'a jamais abandonné l'idée d'une compensation territoriale et que c'est encore là le but de la guerre qui commence. Il a ajouté : " Je vous le dis aujourd'hui pour que vous sachiez à quoi vous en tenir."

Dans ce même entretien Bismarck a remis à Nothomb une déclaration des plus satisfaisantes, signée de lui, pour le respect de notre neutralité.

Vous jugerez sans doute, chère Cousine, utile de faire porter, mais *bien secrètement*, le contenu de cette lettre à la connaissance de vos Ministres.

Nous remarquons dans les journaux français et dans les lettres de Paris que l'on s'efforce d'égarer

l'opinion sur notre compte. Je n'ai pas besoin de dire combien ici nous éviterons avec soin de donner aucun prétexte.

Ma femme me charge de mille choses pour vous.

Adieu, chère Cousine, je vous baise la main et suis pour la vie, votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *25th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday.

Your Majesty will, in common with the world, have been shocked and startled at the publication in to-day's *Times* of a proposed project of Treaty between France and Prussia.

A large portion of the public put down this document as a forgery, and indeed a hoax; Mr. Gladstone fears it is neither. Count Bismarck at this time speaks freely of it: and Count Bernstorff[1] a few days back informed Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone that it existed in the handwriting of Count Benedetti. This communication was made to them personally, in strict secrecy. Probably the object of the Prussian Government was to prompt them to become the agents for making it known to the world. This Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone thought no part of their duty. They entered into no compact respecting the intelligence, but determined to take time to consider it: with an expectation, which has been now fulfilled, that it would find its way into print by some other agency.

Mr. Disraeli has notified to Mr. Gladstone his intention to make an enquiry on the subject to-day; and Mr. Gladstone encloses to your Majesty a rough draft of the sort of answer which he is to make on the part of the Government.

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[1] German Ambassador in London.

Your Majesty's advisers are deeply sensible of the gravity of the subject: but it is just possible, and Mr. Gladstone clings to the hope, that further information may reduce, though it can hardly destroy, its importance.

It may on the other hand materially alter, in a very brief period, the mutual aspects of the Powers of Europe.

The Cabinet considered further the question of Army Stores: and authorised the Secretary for War to carry on at his discretion the manufacture of Snyder rifles and of torpedoes without a minute regard to the amount of his vote, should he find it necessary to incur a risk of somewhat exceeding it.

Mr. Childers will, by altering the application of the Naval Building vote, procure at an early date a considerable augmentation of the iron-built naval force of the country.

The Archbishop of Canterbury having written to Mr. Gladstone to enquire the views of the Government respecting the preparation of a special form of Prayer for Peace, Mr. Gladstone has been authorised to inform his Grace that they would not desire to advise it under present circumstances: the course of precedent is against it.

The Cabinet disposed of various questions of Parliamentary business.

Lord Granville has given Mr. Gladstone to understand that he will be unable to proceed to Balmoral with your Majesty, and that your Majesty appeared to desire that Mr. Gladstone should go in his stead. Mr. Gladstone's first wish always is that these opportunities should as far as possible be used for increasing your Majesty's knowledge of those younger Ministers whose services will, he trusts, be available for the throne during many years yet to come: but if your Majesty is pleased to entertain the slightest wish for Mr. Gladstone's presence in Scotland next month, it will be alike his duty and his pleasure to accompany your Majesty in the place of Lord Granville.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] NEUES PALAIS, 25*th July* 1870.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—We thank you again for your dear kind telegram which we received yesterday.

The Christening went off well, but was sad and serious; anxious faces and tearful eyes, and a gloom and foreboding of all the misery in store spread a cloud over the ceremony which would have been one of gladness and thanksgiving.

My sweet little Sophie[1] was very good and only cried a little bit, but Waldy and Vicky cried and did not like it at all, they were frightened at the Clergyman's voice and energetic gesticulations, and Vicky kept sobbing, "Don't let the man hurt baby." The King said he could not hold the child, he felt too weak, so the Queen had to hold her; it was a general leave-taking, as I shall see none of the family any more before they leave. Poor little Sophie's first step in this world is not ushered in with any bright omens, and her Mama's heart was heavy and weary in spite of the beauty of the day, the sunshine and flowers without.

The feeling is very general here that England would have had it in her power to prevent this awful war, had she in concert with Russia, Austria, and Italy, declared she would take arms against the aggressor, and that her neutrality afforded France advantages and us disadvantages.

France can buy English horses as her ships can reach England, whereas ours cannot on account of the French fleet. Lord Granville is supposed to take sides decidedly with the Emperor. God knows how it all may end!

Fritz and I took the Sacrament this morning; he does not leave to-day, but expects to do so to-morrow or the day after. I cannot bear to think of it. . . .

26*th July.*— . . . I sat up till late last night waiting for Fritz's return, and went to sleep before he came. This morning before I woke he got up, and when I asked where he was I was told he was gone back to Berlin, and I found a slip of paper from him saying he was gone to the Army and had wished to spare me a leave-taking. The thought was *so* kind, and yet now I feel as if my heart would break; he is gone without a kiss or a word of farewell, and I do not know whether I shall ever see him again! I hardly know what I am writing, as my head aches with crying and I cannot stop my tears. My own darling Fritz—Heaven protect and watch over his precious life! Oh that I could be with him and share all dangers, fatigues and anxieties with him, how willingly would I change place with any of his servants! . . .

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[1] Afterwards Queen of the Hellenes, wife of King Constantine.

The children are well. Ever your most dutiful and devoted, but at present most unhappy daughter,—VICTORIA.

Princess Louis of Hesse to Queen Victoria.

SCHLOSS KRANICHSTEIN, 26*th July* 1870.

BELOVED MAMA,—When I returned home last night really heart-broken after having parted from my good and tenderly loved Louis, I found your dear sympathising letter, and thank you a thousand times for it. Your words were a pleasure and a comfort to me. I parted with dear Louis late in the evening on the high road outside the village in which he was quartered for the night, and we looked back until nothing more was to be seen of each other. May the Almighty watch over his precious life, and bring him safe back again; all the pain and anxiety are forgotten and willingly borne, if he is only left to me and to his children!

It is an *awful* time, and the provocation of a war, such as this, a *crime* that will have to be answered for and for which *there can* be no justification. Everywhere troops and peasants are heard singing *Die Wacht am Rhein* and *Was ist das Deutsches Vaterland*, and there is a feeling of unity and standing by each other, forgetting all party squabbles, which makes one proud of the name of German !

All women feel ashamed of complaining when father, husband and son go, and so *many* as volunteers in the ranks ; this war is felt to be national, and that the King had no choice left him to pursue with honour.

I must be in town by nine o'clock, so much rests on me, and there are so many to help—the poor forsaken soldiers' families amongst others.—ALICE.

The King of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BERLIN, 26*th July* 1870.

DEAR SISTER,—Your friendly and sympathising letter which Victoria forwarded to me yesterday has been a renewed proof that your old friendship still remains unchanged. Pray receive my warmest thanks for it.

The present crisis is indeed of such a nature as to excite deep sympathy, when one sees how I myself, my country, and all Germany, provoked by French arrogance, are now suddenly plunged into a momentous war. The indignation at the war has manifested itself far beyond the frontier of Germany, and the different Cabinets and public judgment hold but one opinion of the frivolous policy of France, which has demanded war without any substantial reason, and without allowing time for any quiet or rational negotiation. My entire people is now in arms, and all Germany stands with me as one man. We are now rapidly approaching the sanguinary solution.

In consequence of the universal indignation against the disturber of peace, I was led to hope, I may candidly confess, that, after your mediation was rejected by France, some common action of the European Powers might result in favour of our just cause, and either prevent war, or at any rate hasten its favourable conclusion.

Although a comprehensive political view, like that of 1813–15, which the long war had prepared, was hardly to be expected, yet the occasion might have called forth a coalition of those nations most interested, and upon whom the welfare of Europe depends. Instead of this, we find the result to be everywhere a declaration of neutrality, in which the reserved views are evidently not always favourable to us, and which (if God does not graciously and visibly support us), in the event of a first defeat, must and will lead to results injurious to us. If we do not then receive support, the triumph of the good cause will be still more sanguinary, or else the entire future position of Prussia and Germany will be imperilled. Imagine the effect of such a contingency, and the results of a Napoleonic dynastic Power established in the centre of Europe. A question will then arise for the other Powers of Europe of greater gravity than any other of the serious questions of our time.

The recollection of your excellent husband and of King Leopold constantly occurs to me in this hour of Germany's trial; both considered her cause worthy of support; and her suddenly accomplished unity, which I myself hardly expected to see on such a scale, must give her cause greater weight than formerly.

Do not think, dear Sister, that I am not aware of the difficulties of your high position; I know full well that *your own upright, earnest feelings* can only influence the views of your Government, so far as they coincide with the wishes, views and interests of the nation, and that English tendencies at the present moment are not favourable to any foreign combinations. I also know that you have lost the assistance of many who were far-seeing, and a true support to you; moreover that it is difficult to discuss or manage our continental affairs without thorough knowledge. But the interests of England and Germany stand in such intimate relation, that public opinion ought to be informed as to the true state of the case, in so terrible a crisis as the present. I trust that the Press, which carries so much weight, may be influenced to arouse national sympathy for Germany, and that, through your wise advice, assistance may be afforded to us, whilst it can still be useful, and thus bring about a blessed peace for us. We trust our just cause to God; we now stand quite alone, but find an equivalent for the dreadful sacrifices, which this most critical war imposes on us, in the conviction that God will not forsake those who put their trust in Him.

And now, dear Sister, I bid you heartily farewell, recommending myself and my holy cause to your prayers.—WILHELM R.

P.S.—We have to-day received intelligence that, notwithstanding England's declaration of neutrality, horses, coals, and even ammunition in the shape of millions of cartridges, are being shipped to France from England; whilst we expected a decree forbidding the exportation of all war material. This grieves me deeply.

Earl Granville to Colonel Ponsonby.

Confidential. HOUSE OF LORDS, 26*th July* 1870.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—Bernstorff, who I believe sent the treaty to *The Times*, says it exists in Benedetti's writing at Berlin, but there are some odd circumstances about it.

It gives the precedence to the King of Prussia, which a French draft treaty would not do.[1]

It is impossible that it should have been proposed without preliminary *pourparlers*.

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[1] This may be accounted for by the fact, now ascertained, that the draft was written down by Benedetti in Bismarck's presence, and perhaps partly at his dictation, in the course of their conversations in August 1866, as expressing what the Prussian statesman considered, or professed to consider, a possible agreement between his Government and the French. See Sir Adolphus Ward's *Germany*, vol. ii, ch. 6.

I believe the Emperor and Bismarck what it is better not to put on paper.

Cowley remembers hearing a story of Bismarck having been angry with Benedetti for having told the King of a proposal, which he immediately rejected, but which might have otherwise been matured. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 29*th July* 1870.—The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.

She is glad to hear that the very serious aspect of affairs as regards our Army, and the line which we may have to take with respect to the integrity of Belgium, are to be seriously considered in the Cabinet to-morrow.

The feeling in the country and in Parliament, the Queen feels sure, is for measures being taken before the Session closes, as expressed by Lord Russell, quietly to increase our forces. And she thinks also that a decided expression on the part of England not to allow Belgium to be attacked would have the best effect and would prevent a greater extension of this wicked war.

To call Parliament together again in the autumn would cause far greater alarm, and be, as it always is, very unpopular.

The Queen hopes and trusts that this will be fully considered.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 30*th July* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet has this day been engaged in considering the duties which may be incumbent on Great Britain under present circumstances both as to the Military and Naval Establishments, and as to its relations with Foreign Powers.

They feel that the explanations which have thus far appeared in regard to the notorious project of Treaty are unsatisfactory: and that the best method of dealing with the subject, amidst its many difficulties, is to find a new point of departure, from which new securities if possible may be taken for the safety of Belgium, and against the possibility of any combination of the two belligerents for the purpose of its destruction as a neutral and independent State.

The Cabinet have felt that it is impossible to exaggerate the value of time in this matter, and that the news of a great battle between the two belligerents might vitally alter the whole conditions of the question. But it seems to them that a great public and European advantage might be gained if at this time both France and Prussia could be brought to enter into engagements respecting Belgium which would fill up what is wanting or uncertain in their declarations of neutrality.

The Cabinet have therefore agreed that Lord Granville should ask each of these Powers separately whether it is willing not only to respect the neutrality of Belgium, but to join in upholding it if it should be invaded by another Power.[1]

Aware of your Majesty's desire that every measure should be taken for the defence of Belgium, and pressed as they are by time, they have authorised Lord Granville at once to send off this proposal as he will explain to your Majesty at Osborne.

Russia and Austria, in the view of the Cabinet, should be invited to adhere to each of the two arrangements if completed.

The Cabinet have also determined to lay on the table an Estimate for a vote of credit of two millions to increase our Naval and Military strength, and to ask for authority to add twenty thousand men to the Army. These votes will in the regular course be taken on Tuesday morning.

Mr. Gladstone had the honour on Wednesday of receiving a visit from Prince Arthur. He only echoes the general opinion in saying that the Prince's frank, intelligent, and engaging manners adorn the high station which he holds.

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[1] Both belligerents agreed, and a treaty to this effect was signed with each. See Introductory Note.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BRUXELLES, *ce* 7 *Août* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Voilà Fritz qui se couvre de gloire![1] Les deux succès qu'il vient de remporter vont produire à Paris une profonde sensation. Je serai enchanté de savoir que Bismarck a signé le nouveau traité garantissant notre neutralité.

Il est certain que la Prusse ne veut pas s'annexer la Belgique, mais elle pourrait chercher à la traverser pour marcher sur Paris. Ne pensez-vous pas, chère Cousine, que cette éventualité pourrait se présenter? . . . Votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9*th Aug.* 1870.—More telegrams. The losses of the unfortunate French seem to be greater and greater, 12,000 killed and wounded and 4,000 prisoners. They are quite disorganised. Dreadful excitement at Paris. Letters from Lord Lyons with very alarming accounts. The anger and panic great. At half past twelve went down to the drawing-room with Louise for two Audiences and two Knighthoods. Then saw Mr. Gladstone, who was full of the extraordinary events which have taken place. Perhaps, he said, it might all be for the best for Europe, for, though he was always very fond of the French, he thought a Bonaparte on the throne had always an element of uncertainty and danger. The management of this war, and the boasting and bragging had been most unfortunate, as well as the haggling about this Treaty. Then he spoke of the Session and of Mr. Bright's wish to resign, on account of the war, but

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[1] The Crown Prince commanded the Germans in the victories of Weissenburg on August 4 and Wörth on August 6.

Mr. Gladstone hoped he would not do so *now*, at any rate.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th Aug.*—After luncheon held a Council, before which I saw Lord Granville, who had come up on purpose from Walmer. Talked of the extraordinary reverses and defeats of the French and the great victories of the Prussians. Both in diplomacy and war the failure of the French had been so utterly complete. He thinks it is chiefly due to a loose unprincipled Government, and to everything having become so corrupt. Lord Lyons wrote, "The dynasty falls lower and lower"; "the Empress has much pluck, but little hope." The mismanagement of the whole war, so unwisely hurried on, was fearful and, in consequence, the fury at Paris against the Emperor was very great. Lord Granville thought, as I do, that it would be impossible for us and the other neutral Powers to interfere now, and attempt to stop the war. Neither party would be willing. He had seen Count Bernstorff and urged strongly on him the importance of great forbearance and magnanimity in the terms of peace, and of the Prussians, if possible, not retaining any portions of territory.

BALMORAL, 3*rd Sept.*—Heard by telegraph, contrary to the French account, that Bazaine had been severely beaten by Prince Frederick Charles before Metz. Just as I was going out arrived a telegram, which nearly took one's breath away! The whole of MacMahon's Army have laid down their arms and capitulated,[1] while the Emperor surrendered himself to the King of Prussia, who was to see him immediately. My first thought, and that of many, was that this might lead to peace! Much excitement over this overwhelming news.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BRUXELLES, *ce* 4 *Septembre* 1870.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Quels événements ! ! ! Dans ce qui nous concerne tout s'est très bien passé. Les

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[1] At Sedan. See Introductory Note.

belligérants, quelle que soit leur nationalité, ont été désarmés par nous dès leur arrivée sur notre territoire.[1] Nos avant-postes ont ainsi arrêté environ 3[00] ou 400 Prussiens dont plusieurs officiers, plus de 10 mille Français dont un général, une centaine d'officiers, des canons, beaucoup de matériel et 1,200 cavaliers. Nous avons donc eu le bonheur, dans une lutte gigantesque, qui avait lieu tout à côté de nous, de faire complètement respecter notre neutralité et cela sans la plus petite effusion de sang.

Hier soir j'ai tout à coup reçu de l'Empereur Napoléon et daté de Bouillon, en Belgique, le télégramme dont la copie est ci-jointe.[2] On ne peut pas faire passer de prisonniers en territoire neutre.

Mon premier mouvement a été alors d'un vif mécontentement à ce qui me paraissait une violation de notre neutralité : j'ai fait de suite exprimer mon sentiment au Ministre de Prusse ici. Les détails que j'ai successivement reçus depuis m'ont calmé.

Le Général prussien qui accompagne l'Empereur ayant déclaré à l'officier belge que le Comte de Pierrefond et lui voulaient traverser *incognito* notre pays et cela *à la demande* du Cte de Pierrefond, le chef de mes avant-postes les a laissés entrer à Bouillon en faisant seulement rétrograder l'escorte prussienne. L'Empereur ayant donc *désiré* gagner l'Allemagne par la Belgique, il y aurait eu inhumanité de notre part à lui imposer un grand détour et un voyage pénible et peut-être périlleux à travers la France. L'Empereur, ayant capitulé à Sedan, n'était plus belligérant, et le passage par la Belgique n'étant pas une contrainte qu'on lui avait imposée mais une route choisie par lui, nous ne nous y sommes pas opposés et avons même prescrit les mesures et les égards pour faciliter le voyage du Cte de Pierrefond.

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[1] The battle of Sedan was fought within a few miles of the Belgian frontier.

[2] This was the telegram :

"Forcé de traverser les états de votre Majesté pour me rendre en Allemagne accompagné d'un Général prussien, je tiens à en informer moi-même votre Majesté.—Napoléon."

Adieu, chère Cousine, je vous baise la main et suis et reste, Votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

P.S.—Nous nous proposons de faire de Ciergnon (un château à nous près d'Ardenne) un hôpital pour les blessés des deux nations.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *5th Sept.* 1870.—Heard that the mob at Paris had rushed into the Senate and proclaimed the downfall of the dynasty, proclaiming a Republic! This was received with acclamation and the proclamation was made from the Hôtel de Ville. Not one voice was raised in favour of the unfortunate Emperor! How ungrateful! It was agreed that the following message should be conveyed to the Empress, viz: that "I was not insensible to the heavy blow which had fallen on her, nor forgetful of former days." No one knows where she is!

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

HOMBURG, *6th Sept.* 1870.— . . . What astounding news! Really I could hardly believe my ears, when I heard it. Here the excitement and delight of the people know no bounds. Poor Emperor! his career has ended, and he brought his fall upon himself, and one cannot but pity him—especially for having been the unhappy cause of so much bloodshed and so much woe, which never, never can be cured! So many hearths made dismal, so many happy homes miserable, so many hearts broken, and above all, so many unfortunate men groaning in untold suffering! Unhappy Emperor! he has all this to answer for, and yet he is a kind-hearted and feeling man! He has done the best thing he could for himself under the circumstances, he is *sure* of the most chivalrous and generous treatment at the hands of the King, and he has of his own free-will surrendered to his equal, which is not so humiliating as being driven from throne and country by an infuriated populace. Such a downfall is a melancholy thing, but it is meant to teach deep lessons; may we all learn what frivolity, conceit and immorality lead to! The French people have trusted in their own excellence, have completely deceived themselves; where is their army, where are their statesmen? They despised and hated the Germans whom they considered it quite lawful to insult; how they have been punished!

Whether the war be at an end or no, we do not know, having had no letters or details since these last events; but as there is no French army left, I do not see with whom we are to fight? The march to Paris is continued and what difficulties our army will have to encounter there I do not the least know. It would be grievous for art's sake were that beautiful capital to suffer; I trust it will not come to that. Whether the Republic will be inclined to make peace, who can tell? I fear not. What has become of the Empress and Prince Imperial we have not heard; poor things, I hope they are in safety; they will most likely never see their lovely Paris again! When I think of '48 and '55, and even of last December, when I last saw the Emperor and Empress, it seems like a dream. But even then everyone felt that the Empire was standing, as it were, on a barrel of gunpowder and that the least spark would set fire to the whole thing, and no wonder that with such triflers as the Duc de Gramont and MM. Ollivier and Benedetti the conflagration soon began. Had the Emperor been his former self and held the reins of government tightly, it would perhaps not have happened; but his health and energy are gone; he was grown apathetic and incapable of directing matters himself, and, *as despotism always falls*, his reign has ended—more like the bursting of a soap bubble, than the fall of a mighty monument, which buries all beneath its ruins. What a retribution it seems for the bloody drama of Mexico and for the treatment of the Orleans!

Voices are loud *everywhere* in all classes in defence of Germany regaining her old provinces of Elsass and Lothringen. I cannot say I think it is a good thing; but I do not see how the Government are to resist the resolute determination of the German nation to wrest them back at all hazards! I have been to Frankfort to-day over the Hospitals and seeing different notabilities; everybody is most patriotic.

We have now no less than 120,000 French prisoners in Germany! is it not marvellous? Add to that more than fifty generals and the Sovereign himself. And even *now*, the French *will not* believe that they have been really and fairly defeated; they attribute it all to chance and accident and deny each of our victories. . . .

7th Sept.—During these last days I have so often felt reminded of passages in Shakespeare; in *Henry V* and *Richard II* there are passages which apply wonderfully to the present extraordinary state of things. . . .

All this misery draws hearts closer together and brings together those who in happy and quiet days would have passed one another without taking any notice. The feeling of belonging to *one great* nation for the first time obliterates all feelings of North, South, high and low, all particularism; this I must say is very delicious to experience; simplifies all things and gives a new impulse to all exertions. Poor Germany! she has dearly bought her unity and independence with the blood of her sons. It is a great satisfaction to me to see how Prussian *Wesen*, discipline, habits, etc. etc., is now appreciated and seen in its true light; its superiority acknowledged with pleasure and pride, instead of jealousy, fear, scorn and hatred. We owe to Frederick the Great and his father, to Scharnhorst, Stein and Hardenberg, what we are, and we said it with gratitude and not in vain-glory or conceit. We are worthy of

England's sympathy and approbation, and feel sure that it will not long be withheld from us. Fritz writes that he has seen many letters which have been seized from one French officer to another, giving the most awful description of the French army, as regards honesty and morality. The stealing and plundering that goes on is incredible, *not only* among the Turcos. The Empress did well and rightly in giving up the Crown Jewels of her own accord before there was any necessity, Queen Isabella behaved *very* differently.

What will Bertie and Alix say to all these marvellous events? When I think of the Emperor and Empress in the zenith of their glory, in '55 and at the time of the exhibition when all the Sovereigns in Europe paid them their court, and they were so amiable and courteous to all, it seems a *curious* contrast! Gay and charming Paris! *What* mischief that very court, and still more that very attractive Paris, has done to English Society, to the stage and to literature! *What harm* to the young and brilliant aristocracy of London! It would be well if they would pause and think that immoderate frivolity and luxury depraves and ruins and ultimately leads to a national misfortune. Our poverty, our dull towns, our plodding, hardworking *serious life*, has made us strong and determined; is wholesome for us. I should grieve were we to imitate Paris and be so taken up with pleasure that no time was left for self-examination and serious thought! Ancient history teaches the same lesson as modern history—a hard and stern one for those who have to learn it by sad experience; the poor Emperor has leisure now to study it!

Fritz has been unwell but is better, he had diarrhœa, etc., and feels much tired; it is not to be wondered at, as he has awful hard work, and I am so afraid of his precious health being injured. I must end here, dearest Mama; do not laugh at my long yarns as Affie would say, and pray excuse the blots on the paper.—VICTORIA.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, *9th Sept.* 1870.—The French evidently wish for peace and are in the greatest want of it, but seem still to think *they* can dictate terms! This is madness!

The great danger for *us* in *interfering* is to have the *appearance* of *wishing* to *prevent* Germany from making a lasting peace and from obtaining such securities from her [France] as may *really* prevent the recurrence of a *similar war* and the terrible evil of *constantly living* in dread of one every year (as has been the case for the last six or seven years) thereby producing total insecurity and crippling her commerce and internal development. *If we* appear to *try* and protect France and to try and prevent any territorial compensation (though the Queen thinks with Lord Halifax and the advocates of Peace, that it would not be a lasting security for Peace, but rather, from the nature of the French people, a *cause* of *perpetual irritation* and desire to avenge the humiliation and to recover what they have lost) it would not be listened to, unless they chose it, and would only confirm the bad feeling in Germany which is barely subsiding towards us.

A powerful Germany can never be dangerous to England, but the very reverse, and our great object should therefore be to have her friendly and cordial towards us. Germany ever since 1848 has believed us unfavourable to her consolidation and unity, which was greatly strengthened by Lord Palmerston's strong anti-German feeling exhibited on the Schleswig-Holstein question, and on many other occasions, while he advocated the Italian unity which was no political object for us, and for which the Italians were far less fit than the Germans. This grieved and distressed the dear Prince most deeply. France was flattered and the Emperor really petted, and we were made to help him out of every scrape, while our natural allies—a kindred people—were left to think that we despised them and did not wish for their development. This belief, unfortunately and strange to say, *the Press* encouraged and confirmed; it is for this reason and for the *great danger* of victorious and powerful Germany becoming altogether *estranged towards* us, at *this* moment when she has made such herculean sacrifices, that the Queen is so very anxious that England should do nothing to make her think we wish her *not* to reap the benefits of her hard-won victories, and that we wish to help the aggressor and cause of all this bloodshed in getting as good terms as possible for France. This would *never* be forgotten. Germany resents our neutrality and therefore (as the Princess Royal wrote) would never hear of our interfering with the terms of Peace. What Germany and Europe absolutely require, just as they did in '15, is that France should remain quiet, consolidate her own powers at home by industry and commerce, but not by constant threats and aggressions on her neighbours and the world in general. This really is what Germany wants and we and Europe want.

There is nothing the Queen would not wish to do, to stay this fearful strife, but she must look forward and warn most *solemnly* and *positively* against the danger of alienating Germany from us.

Queen Victoria to the Empress Eugénie.

[*Draft.*] BALMORAL.

MADAME ET CHÈRE SŒUR,—Sans paraître importune, votre Majesté me permettra de lui répéter moi-même ce que je lui ai déjà fait dire—c'est que je pense souvent à elle dans ce temps d'affreuse épreuve pour elle, et pour tout ce qui lui est cher. Le souvenir des temps passés où votre Majesté et l'Empereur nous ont reçus sous leur toit hospitalier, les visites que vous nous avez faites et la bonté avec laquelle vous avez accueilli nos enfants ne peuvent me laisser insensible à votre grand malheur.

J'espère que ni votre santé ni celle de votre fils n'ont souffert.

Je me dis, Madame et chère Sœur, de votre Majesté Impériale l'affectionnée Sœur, VICTORIA R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 12 *Sept.* 1870.—Omitted to mention that my dearest kindest friend, dear old Lehzen,[1] expired quite quietly and peacefully on the 9th. For two years she had been quite bedridden, from the results of breaking her hip. Though latterly her mind had not been clear, still there were days when she constantly spoke of me, whom she had known from the age of six months. She had devoted her life to me, from my fifth to my eighteenth year, with the most wonderful self-abnegation, never even taking one day's leave! After I came to the throne she got to be rather trying and especially so after my marriage, but never from any evil intention, only from a mistaken idea of duty and affection for me. She was an admirable governess, and I adored her, though I also feared her. I feel much that she too is gone. Within seven months I have lost the dear Countess Blücher, General Grey, Sir James Clark, and her!

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 12*th Sept.* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble respects to your Majesty, and encloses a letter from M. de Lavalette, written partly at the suggestion of Lord Granville. He told M. de Lavalette that your Majesty lived in privacy at Balmoral, and was not in the habit of receiving diplomatists there, partly out of consideration for their convenience. Lord Granville suggested his writing a letter which Lord Granville could transmit to your Majesty.

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[1] Baroness Lehzen, the Queen's governess. See First Series, vol. i, ch. 3.

Count Bernstorff is here and seems reasonable enough. The diplomatic difficulty is great. If Prussia adheres to her determination to consider the Empress as the only legal government of France, how is it possible to conclude a peace with a refugee at Hastings? On the other hand it is difficult for them to recognise a Government which is self-constituted and received no sanction from the country. But again, if they ignore the present Government, which, however advanced, is composed of men of some ability and character, will they do better if they have to deal with a Red and Anarchical Government?

M. Thiers[1] comes to London on his way to Petersburg and Vienna, and Lord Granville will probably see him to-morrow.

Lord Granville was pleased to receive your Majesty's minute. Your Majesty's Government (i.e. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Forster, Lord Hartington, the only Ministers whom Lord Granville has seen) entirely approve of declining to offer mediation, unless both parties agree to it, and there seems to be a basis on which both belligerents would agree to negotiate. Mr. Chichester Fortescue is the only member who, being absent, has suggested a different course. M. de Bernstorff has luckily written a (weak) memo against our refusal to prevent exportation of arms; this gives an opportunity for a full reply, which must show any reasonable German that they have no right to complain. Count Bernstorff admits that there is no other subject of which they have a right to complain.

Lord Granville would deprecate giving just reason to France to hate us for the future. France is a Power with which it must be always desirable to be on good terms, as regards the United States and the East. Lord Granville believes that the best chance of success is to adhere firmly and quietly to the policy which has been laid down, and which, he gathers from your

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Majesty's important minute, your Majesty wishes to maintain.

He thought it better to send Mr. Goschen instead of Mr. Cardwell to Balmoral, whose absence, coupled with that of poor Mr. Childers, might have excited the criticism to which so many matters of great and small importance are subject.[1]

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 15*th Sept.* 1870.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville very much for his letter of the 12th. She hopes to hear from him what M. Thiers had to say.

From the answer sent for the French Government in Lord Granville's cypher she thought it looked as if matters could be *brought right if* the Prussians were to give up asking for territory. But will they dare to do so?

The Queen (if Lord Granville approved it) could telegraph in German to the King saying she, merely as a friend, asked whether in the interest of suffering humanity he could shape his demands in such a way as to enable the French to accept them; that we have no right or wish to interfere, but that the King and his splendid victorious Army stood so high, that I ventured to think they could afford, if they obtained the necessary securities to prevent the recurrence of similar events or even of threats of attack, to be generous, and that his name would only stand higher than it already did if he could pause and make peace now. Something of this kind put shortly, the Queen (merely from a sense of Christian duty and as a personal intimate friend of the King) thought she might perhaps do. But Lord Granville might think it premature and that it might do harm instead of good.

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[1] Because Mr. Cardwell was War Minister and Mr. Childers First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Childers's absence was due to the loss of his son in H.M.S. *Captain*. See below note on p. 70.

It could be sent by someone to Headquarters if thought advisable.

Is that account of the poor Empress's escape true? It is too dreadful. The Queen hopes her message has been conveyed to her.

It is much to be wished that a good and stable Government and not a republic should soon be established in France. There is certainly a great difficulty for the Prussians in treating for peace to have no real Government to treat with.

Pray express the Queen's regret at not seeing M. Lavalette again, and her personal regard for him. . . .

Earl Granville to Colonel Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 15*th September* 1870.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—My first impulse was to rejoice at the proposed telegram[1] to the King of Prussia. But on reflection there seemed to be difficulties.

The King is known to have a great respect and affection for her Majesty, and the Queen [knows] his character so well, that she is the only judge of what would affect his Majesty's course.

It is difficult in a short telegraphic message not to be vague, or else liable to misconstruction. General advice as to moderation has no lasting effect, whereas if the Queen could telegraph on one particular point it might have great influence.

If the King sends an evasive answer, it would be disagreeable, or else he might say, "I intended to do more, but in consequence of your application, I will content myself with less," the less being much more than the French will ever forgive. A letter from her Majesty telling the King that her personal friendship makes her rejoice that his moderation will make Germany as glorious for her magnanimity, as she has been for her marvellous power, could do no harm ; but I am inclined to think that a telegram should be reserved to carry a particular point.

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[1] The proposal had been sent to Lord Granville by telegram, as well as in the preceding letter.

But the Queen's judgment on the matter of dealing with the King is better than any advice I can give. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

The notion of re-establishing the Emperor appears to be preposterous.

Sir John M. Burgoyne[1] *to Colonel Ponsonby.*

WINDSOR HOUSE, RYDE, 15*th September* [1870].

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I am very glad to give you a short account of the extraordinary circumstance of my bringing H.I.M. the Empress over in the *Gazelle*. I am especially anxious that it should be known, that all that occurred was by the most pure accident, as I fear an impression has got abroad that I was in Deauville Harbour "waiting events." Lady Burgoyne had been abroad for some months, and I went in the yacht to Trouville (Deauville harbour) to meet her on the 24th August. We were detained there by bad weather and head winds longer than we expected, and so much did we wish to get away that on two occasions I was ready for sea, and had the pilot on board, but by his advice did not go to sea. I mention these details to prove that I am not mixed up in foreign complications.

On Tuesday the 6th September at about 2 p.m., two strangers came on board, and asked to be allowed to see an English yacht. I happened to be on board, and myself showed them over the yacht ; one of them suddenly asked to be allowed to say a few words in private ; he then informed me that the Empress was concealed in Deauville, wishing to be conveyed to England, and asked me if I would undertake [to] take her over in the yacht. After consulting with Lady

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[1] Sir John Montagu Burgoyne, 10th and last Baronet, of Sutton Park, Bedfordshire (1832-1921) ; no relation of F.-M. Sir John Fox Burgoyne, 1st and only Baronet, G.C.B. (1782–1871).

Burgoyne considering the scanty accommodation on board, I at once agreed to her request; and it was considered advisable that Lady Burgoyne should remain on board, as her landing might create suspicion.

It was arranged between the two gentlemen (Dr. Evans of the Rue de la Paix and his nephew) and myself that I was to meet them at a certain place on the quay at 11 p.m. that night, to settle at what time her Majesty was to come aboard. We met and settled the hour for five minutes past twelve (midnight). Oddly enough at *11.30* p.m. I had the honour of a visit from a young Russian gentleman to whom I had only been introduced casually, who brought "a friend of his from Paris, who was anxious to see a yacht." I had the pleasure of showing them all over the vessel except Lady Burgoyne's cabin, and have little doubt that he was a spy, who suspected something. I carefully watched these two persons back over the railway bridge into Trouville; and, while I was doing so, Dr. Evans, the Empress, and Madame le Breton came up, and I immediately took them on board. The Empress was very much agitated and sobbed bitterly, and on my saying to her, going over the side, "N'ayez pas peur, Madame," she replied in English, "I am safe with an English gentleman." I then introduced her to my wife, who told her the last three days' news, and read the papers to her. At seven o'clock we left the harbour and had very heavy weather with a nasty sea running, but the *Gazelle* is a very fine sea boat and behaved splendidly; but I fear the Empress must have suffered frightful discomfort, although we did all in our power to make her comfortable.

I landed with the Empress at Ryde a little before seven on the 8th; and she left at midday *via* Portsmouth for Hastings to join her son.

If her Majesty the Queen should speak to you about this occurrence I shall deem it an immense favour if you will thoroughly explain that my part in it was entirely from accident, and that, previous to 2 p.m. on the 6th, I do not think I ever heard the Empress's name mentioned while I was in France. The Empress had no luggage of any sort or kind, and what she had to undergo in her journey from Paris to Deauville had far better never be known. Monsieur de Lesseps had nothing whatever to do with her escape; I believe Prince Metternich planned it, and Dr. Evans carried it out most skilfully.

We are plunged into the deepest affliction by the loss of H.M.S. *Captain*[1] and poor Hugh Burgoyne, who as you know is not a relative of mine, yet was my dearest friend, and his poor wife and mine are inseparable. She is in a very unsatisfactory state; the sudden blow has almost deprived her of reason.

The poor old Field-Marshal is completely bowed down by the catastrophe and at his great age [88] it is the more terrible. . . . Believe me, yours very truly, J. MONTAGU BURGOYNE.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 19*th September* 1870.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen has commanded me to send you the enclosed telegram in German for the King of Prussia, which her Majesty is anxious should be communicated in her own words.

Although her Majesty thinks that no time should be lost in forwarding this message to the Headquarters of the German Army, the Queen leaves it to you to decide on the moment for sending it, which I presume you will do through Count Bernstorff, to whom the Queen supposes you will intimate that the message is a private one addressed by her Majesty to her relative the King. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

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[1] The *Captain*, a turret-ship built after the designs of Captain Cowper Coles, R.N., foundered in a gale off Cape Finisterre in the early morning of 5th September. Her captain, Hugh Burgoyne, only son of F.-M. Sir J. Burgoyne, and Captain Cowper Coles and most of her officers and crew were lost.

[Enclosure.]

Queen Victoria to the King of Prussia.

[*In German.*]

The Queen asks the King of Prussia as a friend whether, in the interests of suffering humanity, he could so shape his demands as to enable the French to accept them. The King and his splendid victorious Army stand so high that the Queen thinks they can afford, on obtaining necessary securities for preventing similar events or attacks, to be generous. The King's name will stand even higher if he make peace now.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Balmoral, *25th Sept.* 1870.—Talked to Mr. Goschen of the memorandum of Mr. Malet[1] (who went with the telegraphic message to Prussian Headquarters) on his conversation with Bismarck, which gives a most horrid idea of his character. The latter had said, amongst other things, that all *francs-tireurs* must be hung, for they threw away their arms, when they liked, and fired from hidden places; that he did not the least care for life, *as* he believed in another world, and that if people lived 4[00] or 500 years, that might be different! How horrid! He further said that *he* did not care for Alsace and Lorraine, but must have Strasburg and Metz! Mr. Goschen looked with me at the King of Prussia's answer to my telegram, in which he says that he thanks me for my telegram, and that I know he is not carrying on a war for renown and conquest. That he would gladly be as magnanimous as his duty towards his people and army would allow, and that, with my strong feeling for patriotic duties towards my own people, I would understand that he must be the same for Germany, and do nothing to jeopardise its safety, in the treaties for peace.

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[1] Afterwards Sir Edward Malet, and in later years British Ambassador in Berlin.

The Queen of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BERLIN, 25*th September* 1870.

DEAREST FRIEND,— . . . I approve very much your having telegraphed with dignity as well as tact to the King at the moment when first attempts at peace negotiations were about to be made. Even if such steps are often unsuccessful I would beg of you never to give up that direct and personal communication which Albert knew so well to carry on, and which is of such importance for the present and future relations between England and Germany, on account of the dangers of coalitions.

The negotiations with Jules Favre have been in vain. The programme laid down in his circular, to which he probably adhered during the negotiation, i.e. starting with the condition of the integrity of French territory and of the fortresses, explains this result.

The sacrifices which the German nation has made, and is making still, are so enormous that the King and his Allies must take them into account. Especially South Germany considers herself open to attacks from France, while Baden is separated from her only by the Rhine and Strasburg remains a fortress. South Germany demands, therefore, loudly the annexation of Alsace. In Southern Germany, moreover, the memories of the old Empire and its sympathies are still kept alive, and they foster the desire to see German territory, which was detached in the most unheard-of manner from the Empire, given back to Germany again. Even from other countries voices are being heard blaming France for maintaining the integrity of her soil, because France herself has never respected the territory of other states, and has ever threatened Germany with unwarrantable claims upon the German Rhine.

The necessity for Germany—forced into this war—of securing better strategic frontiers and of repelling French aggression and falsehood by the conditions of peace does certainly not exclude that wise consideration of circumstances which must form the basis of a safe guarantee of peace. The boundary line of language should in particular be maintained, and no really French territory be claimed. I have always said that the dangers of war, however great, would be far less—on account of the excellent army which the King has the honour of commanding—than the terms of peace hereafter; and yet I was not aware then of the vast amount of sacrifices which render the peace negotiations more difficult still. May God help us further! we must ever pray for an honourable and blessed peace. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral, 1*st Oct.* 1870.—The Queen is so glad to see how firmly and *resolutely* Lord Granville refuses to be dragged *into* mediation and interference, though it must be very difficult to avoid it.

The Queen feels so very *strongly* the danger *to this country* of giving advice which will not help the *one* party, and may turn the very powerful other party, already much (and unjustly) irritated against us, into an inveterate enemy of England, which would be very dangerous and serious.

She also feels that, if we offer advice, we shall be asked to give promises for eventual action one way or another, which may be very serious for us and drag us into intervention; for we could not say, if we pressed our advice, that we would on no account act. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Hawarden, 5*th Oct.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter of the 2nd.

As far as he can judge, the Cabinet is fully determined to shun all sole action on the part of this country with reference to the war now raging, and not to encourage any act of partisanship, or any attempt at mediation under present circumstances except with the assent of both parties.

There is, however, another point on which the Cabinet has decided at present to maintain reserve, but with regard to which Mr. Gladstone individually thinks it desirable that the neutral Powers should have, and even should express, an opinion. It is the question whether, in considering the transfer of any large district of territory from one country to another, some regard should not be had to the feelings of the inhabitants, if they entertain decided feelings on the subject.

How the fact may stand with regard to Alsace and Lorraine, Mr. Gladstone will not presume to say: but in the circulars of Count Bismarck the question of the transfer is treated without any reference whatever to the attachments of the people; and unless M. Jules Favre has grossly misrepresented the Chancellor, he totally and deliberately sets them aside and is prepared to trample upon them if need be.

With regard to this principle of action, Mr. Gladstone conceives that three things are pretty clear. First, that the neglect to take into account, or the difficulty of taking into account, feelings and attachments in former distributions of territory has caused much disturbance and much bloodshed in subsequent times to Europe. Secondly, that the opposite rule of action is favourable to future peace. Thirdly, that it has obtained much countenance in recent European practice. And he will add a fourth, namely, that a matter of this kind cannot be regarded as in principle a question between two belligerents only, but that it involves considerations of legitimate interest to all the Powers of Europe. It appears to Mr. Gladstone to bear on the Belgian question in particular. He does not believe that any principle or power, except the desire of the Belgian people to maintain their own nationality, will for any length of time suffice to preserve it. It is also a principle likely to be of great consequence in the eventual settlement of the Eastern question. Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that, quite apart from the subject of mediation, it cannot be right that the neutral Powers should remain silent while this principle is trampled down, should the actual sentiment of Alsace and Lorraine be such as to render this language applicable, of which he cannot judge at present. The mode of expressing any view of this matter is doubtless a question requiring much consideration: but the decision of the Cabinet was that the time for it had not yet come. Any declaration in the sense described would, Mr. Gladstone thinks, have entailed, in fairness, an obligation to repudiate the present claim of France to obtain peace without surrendering "either an inch of her territory, or a stone of her fortresses."

The matter stands over, at any rate for the present: freedom has, however, been expressly reserved by Lord Granville to comment hereafter on the circular of Count Bismarck if he should see cause. Doubtless the great difficulty of declaring an opinion is to do it without seeming to depart from impartiality as between the two Powers at war.

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

Balmoral, 12*th Oct.* 1870.—Colonel Ponsonby with his humble duty begs leave to express his surprise at Mr. Morier's statement,[1] which is so confidently made as to lead one to believe Mr. Morier has no doubt of the case.

The accusation against Count Bismarck has been often made in England, but, although Mr. Layard wrote that there was an emissary of Bismarck's at Madrid before the offer was made, it seems inexplicable that the King should have conceded almost every point demanded by the French in order to avoid war,

[1] Imputing responsibility to Bismarck for the war. See Introductory Note.

if the object had been to draw it on. Had the French not persisted in their final demand that the King should promise never to allow for the future a Prussian to become a candidate for the Spanish throne, they would have gained a diplomatic victory.

Still Mr. Morier writes so confidently that it is to be hoped he will be able to give some further light upon the subject.

Mr. Forster to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL CASTLE, 17*th October* 1870.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—Upon getting your note last evening I sent it to the Queen, who soon sent for me to talk to me about it.

I think her Majesty's first feeling was some alarm lest any attempt on our part to induce Russia to join with us in suggesting terms might be considered by Prussia a hostile act, but this alarm was I think removed by consideration of the confidential form of your communication.

The Queen wishes great caution in our action, not because she forgets the rights of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, still less because she does not feel for France and about the war, the horrors of which haunt her day and night, notwithstanding the present absorbing domestic interest[1]; but because she thinks that we must, if we can, avoid the danger of the great German nation beginning its new life with a hostile feeling to England, and because she fears that there will be this hostile feeling, if we are supposed to try to prevent the Germans compensating themselves for their immense sacrifices by making themselves safe for the future.

The Queen was therefore pleased with that expression in your note which suggested that any appeal by us and other neutral Powers should be to the *humanity* of the "King of Prussia." I have found her Majesty anxious lest Prussia and Germany generally should suppose that we dislike German unity.

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[1] The engagement of Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne. See *More Leaves*, where the passage of the Queen's Journal of 3rd October recording the event is quoted.

I have said that I thought the English people had clearly shown their gladness that there should be a great nation between Russia and France strong enough to keep Russia back and France quiet, but I think the Queen is right in believing that there ought to be no possibility of misapprehension on that point.

Perhaps some opportunity may arise which will enable you to make this quite clear. . . .

The Empress Eugénie to Queen Victoria.

HASTINGS, 22 *Octobre* 1870.

MADAME ET CHÈRE SŒUR,—Je viens de recevoir la lettre de votre Majesté; j'avais déjà prié Lord Granville par l'intermédiaire du Marquis de Lavalette de remercier la Reine pour son intérêt et son aimable message.

En rappelant les temps passés, votre Majesté veut bien y attacher un souvenir affectueux pour l'Empereur et pour moi, et je l'en remercie.

Les malheurs sont venus fondre sur nous, mais Dieu donne toujours la force en mesurant leur poids; j'espère qu'en accordant à la France des jours meilleurs, il adoucira nos cruelles épreuves.

Ma santé a été bien ébranlée, ainsi que celle de mon fils; mais le repos absolu dans lequel nous désirons vivre sera, je l'espère, un moyen de sûre guérison.

Je prie votre Majesté de croire aux sentiments avec lesquels je me dis, Madame et chère Sœur, de votre Majesté l'affectionnée Sœur, EUGÉNIE.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.

[*Copy.*]

6*th Nov.* 1870.—The Queen, who is fully convinced of Mr. Cardwell's desire to effect such a reform in the Military Administration of the country that the fatal effects of over-reduction in times of peace will no longer be felt, is anxious nevertheless to repeat her earnest wish that the effective state of the regular troops in the United Kingdom should never be allowed to sink below the number of one hundred thousand men.

While fully appreciating the necessity of reducing the number of useless officers, she hopes that care may be taken that there should be no lack of effective officers when an emergency arises.

The plan shadowed forth by Mr. Cardwell of establishing a reserve by which the Army should be rapidly increased when necessity arises will probably meet with much favour when it is shown that these reserves actually exist; but the Queen hopes that the facilities for rapid expansion may not be taken advantage of to effect an undesirable contraction, and that some limit should be fixed below which the battalions should never be allowed to fall. Care should also be taken to ensure the rapid assembly of the Reserves when required.

The Queen wishes the Militia forces were more numerous, and were commanded by more efficient officers whose appointments should emanate from the Minister of War rather than from the Lords-Lieutenant of Counties.

The unsatisfactory condition of the Volunteers admits of many improvements. Those who offer their services should engage to submit to a certain amount of necessary control, and the officers might be required to know more of their profession than they do at present.

The Queen has not alluded to the question of the Artillery which she is sure engages Mr. Cardwell's attention, but she hopes that the expediency of considerably increasing this branch of the Service will be duly considered.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria. [*Copy.*]

HOMBURG, *7th Nov.* 1870.— . . . What you say about the feeling between Germany and England is but *too true*! It makes my heart sink! There is nothing for it but patience; I know it will *not* last. In Germany as soon as people's passions and nerves settle and calm down a bit, and they *have time*—which at present they have not—to examine *what* their imaginary grievance against England is, they will see how puerile are the reasons which have made them so angry and how small are the *facts* which, so greatly exaggerated, exasperated them so much! I am sure they will be heartily ashamed of their injustice, and grateful for England's kind and cordial sympathy, her grand and magnificent charity, and her masterly descriptions of our deeds in her incomparable Press, the first Press of the world. Much can be done even now, I am sure, to clear up misunderstandings and explain away difficulties; it will never do to blunder away at one another till we have got either into a serious quarrel, or a settled dislike, for which the whole world will suffer! Those, as you so justly and truly say, who are devoted, as I am heart and soul, to both beloved countries, to the cause of *liberty* and *culture*, of which they are the two main supports, have many a bitter moment to go through at present. But the case is not hopeless. If England will be forbearing with her excited sister who has no time to think while she is fighting, I know she will see reason and good feeling return.

The cause of anger is *really* this: when the war broke out Germany, who had to rush into armour unprepared, *of course* thought herself in the greatest danger, and turned to England, her only friend, for *help*. England had other considerations, preferred being a spectator to an actor, probably did not think the danger so imminent for Germany as the latter did herself—in short determined to remain neutral; a cry of disappointment and indignation burst forth from Germany, and people said: "If we are annihilated England will be the cause, she knows and acknowledges that we have been unfairly and unjustly attacked, and yet she will quietly see us go to the bottom without stirring a little finger to help us! If she would but speak out loud to our neighbour, who has so suddenly turned our enemy, if she would but lift up her voice and threaten to strike him that disturbed the peace of Europe, France would *never* have *dared* to make war, and all these lives would have been saved. England is suffering from obesity and too indolent to stir; it rather lets us perish than speak a serious word to France."

This is the grievance, and it must take time before the feeling of anger will wear out, and the kindly offices England has unceasingly offered since be acknowledged and appreciated.

I think in the *main* grievance Germany is right and her feeling *legitimate*; for in my mind I cannot help thinking England *could* have and should have prevented the war—by a rebuke and a threat to the party who was the aggressor. But where Germany is altogether *wrong* is in supposing England hung back from a love to the French and jealousy to ourselves; that Lord Granville was French, and the law of neutrality interpreted to our detriment and France's advantage; and many minor facts which were brought up against England, exaggerated and distorted so as to create spite and suspicion and all manner of unkind feelings—now vented on inoffensive and kindly intentioned Englishmen wherever they appear. The misfortune is that our official representatives are neither of them quite fitted for nor up to their positions, viz. Bernstorff and Lord A. Loftus. Each, though well intentioned, has bungled and made *bévues* with mischievous consequences. IF a great *German Empire* does come out of the present war, then neither of these persons ought to remain. A charge of such *immense* importance ought to be confided to the *very best* heads and hands both countries can produce, so that *both* be worthily represented. I am sure *nothing* would set matters straight sooner. Pray excuse my openness.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral, 11*th* *Nov.* 1870.—The Queen has heard with much concern and alarm of the conduct of Russia,[1] which is indeed outrageous; she has perfect confidence in Lord Granville's prudence and firmness, but it will require the utmost amount of both to steer through this very ugly complication.

The Queen sends the copy of a very interesting and able letter she received yesterday evening from the Crown Princess, and part of one she received two days ago.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 11*th* *Nov.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that, after the preliminary but very full discussion of yesterday on the important communications which have been received from Prince Gortchakoff,[2] with reference to the Treaty of 1856, and in particular to the neutralisation of the Black Sea, Lord Granville prepared a despatch which he has brought before the Cabinet to-day. It is founded upon the double basis, first of declining to recognise or proceed upon the renunciation of the Treaty by Russia; secondly, of showing that Great Britain would have been willing, if properly appealed to, to consider the question, in concert with the Co-signatory Powers, whether any of the stipulations of the Treaty were such as now to call for revision. This despatch was considered by the Cabinet in detail, and approved by them. Lord Granville will send copies to the Co-signatory Powers, but will only mention to their Representatives in London the general effect. This he will also make known to Baron Brunnow.[3] . . .

The Cabinet have also considered the question whether the time has not now arrived when the question relating to those Fenian prisoners whose offence is purely political should be reconsidered with a view to their early release. Several circumstances which have occurred have bearings upon this question. The Government have received several indications that Fenianism in various quarters is losing some of its vital energy. The Crimes Act of last Session has worked effectively, and the condition of Ireland thus far has been satisfactory. Agitation on the subject of release has not yet revived, but delay would be likely to bring it on. On the last occasion when Fenian prisoners were released, one or two among them indulged in unseemly triumph with a momentary effect. It would now be thought proper to prevent any such occurrence by attaching to any release the condition of leaving the country. Lastly, a Royal Commission, which was appointed to examine into certain charges of abuse of power by the prison authorities against the Fenian offenders, has reported that they are generally innocent of any such abuse, but that the method which by law has been put in use, of treating these political criminals like ordinary felons as a general rule, is over-severe, and that the law ought to be amended. The publication of this report would not be favourable to the reputation of this country, if at the time when it occurs these men were still detained. Under all these circumstances the Irish Government will now examine the case with a view to making arrangements for the early liberation on proper conditions of those persons who are not tainted with ordinary crime. . . .

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[1] In repudiating the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. See Introductory Note.

[2] The Russian Chancellor.

[3] Russian Ambassador in London.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

16 Bruton Street, 12*th Nov.* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The shell which Lord Granville has been led to expect, has burst, but in the most violent and illegitimate manner. Perhaps if the thing was to be done, it

is as well that the Russians have put themselves flagrantly in the wrong. If they wish to succeed by negotiation, it obliges them to go back. If they mean to make the attempt by the threat of brute force, they put against them whatever may remain of public opinion. But if they succeed, it puts an end at once to the value of any treaty. The neutralisation of the Black Sea was a French idea, and certainly was a very onerous condition for a great Power, and one from which it was sure that Russia at some time would desire to escape. If they had come to Europe to ask for a revision, it would have been difficult to refuse to consider the merits of the question. Russia's present mode of proceeding is perfectly inadmissible.

It is difficult to know how far the agreement between Russia and Prussia has gone; and much will depend upon this.

The country a short time ago would have recoiled from a renewal of a Russian war. It is impossible to say, after the feverishness created by the spectacle of a great war, what would be their feeling now.

The matter will require the greatest firmness and calm on the part of your Majesty's Government. Every step will be most severely criticised and ought to be so.

The first has not been difficult; the second must depend upon many circumstances.

It was proposed merely to send to Count Bismarck the English answer to Prince Gortchakoff—and to tell him that Mr. [Odo] Russell will give him all further explanations he may require.

It will be a disagreeable sign, if the safe-conduct is refused.

The Cabinet is inexperienced in Foreign Affairs, but very sensible; Lord Halifax of great use.

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*] BALMORAL, 18*th November* 1870.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I have received the Queen's commands to thank you for your letter, and at the same time to convey to you her Majesty's entire approval of the course taken by the Cabinet with respect to this sudden announcement made by the Russian Government.

With respect to the convicted leaders and organisers of the Fenian movement, who were deeply responsible for the attempted revolution in 1867 in Ireland, the Queen cannot avoid remarking that no expression of regret or sorrow has been pronounced by any of them, but that on the contrary they have maintained a defiant attitude, and will probably regard their release as a triumph for their party.

Her Majesty hopes that in making the arrangements for their expatriation some guarantee for their good behaviour will be exacted, since the presence in America of these reckless men at the present moment might lead to disastrous consequences.

Her Majesty understands that, as it is intended to release only those whose crimes were purely political, the soldiers convicted of Fenianism will not be included in the pardon.[1]

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 14*th Nov.* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He returns these interesting letters. How well the Princess Royal[2] writes! It is quite natural that her Royal Highness should not understand the neutral position of this country, but Lord Granville entirely disbelieves that strong language would have prevented a war, provoked by the infatuation of the French, and not impossibly by the intrigues of others. It must always be remembered that, whatever were the causes of the war, both belligerents refused to consent to the Arbitration Protocol of the Congress at Paris.

Lord Granville supposes the King of Prussia to have strong prejudices, which at his Majesty's age are not easy to remove. It must be to the Crown Princess and her husband that this country must look for the future good relations of the two countries. Your Majesty's immense influence will not be wanting.

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[1] The Fenian prisoners were released in December.

[2] See her letter of 7th November above, pp. 78-80.

Lord Granville is convinced the Crown Princess is right about Lord A. Loftus. He is wanting in tact, and a great bore, although he has some merits. Mr. Odo Russell's visit to Versailles will, Lord Granville hopes, have a good effect. Much good or bad feeling will be produced by the line Prussia takes on the Eastern question. If Count Bismarck has not been consulted as to the exact time and manner of the Russian circular, it may enable him to be less encouraging to Russia than she expects.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral, 20*th Nov.* 1870.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his kind letter received to-day.

She sees by telegrams received to-night from Sir A. Buchanan and Sir H. Elliot (sent in a box), that they preach great moderation. This is the Queen's own feeling, for a war at the present moment might be very disastrous to *us*, and do great harm to Turkey instead of good.

Events of this kind are just what made the Queen so terribly anxious that England should do nothing, about the present war, to irritate Germany, as she feared the consequences.

However, the great object now must be to do nothing precipitate, so that we may not be driven into a war for so unsatisfactory a cause—as in fact the upholding of a Mohammedan State with so little real intrinsic power, must in the abstract be called—by asserting loudly that we are insulted and then cannot recede with honour.

The Press is what the Queen fears. They should be warned by what occurred in France, when the Legislature and the Press hurried the Government on in their mad course of declaring and making war on Prussia. The Queen feels sure that Lord Granville, and Mr. Gladstone, and the rest of the Government see this as much as she does.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 23*rd Nov.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly informs your Majesty that he has been empowered by Mr. Bright to lay his resignation at your Majesty's feet. But, as Mr. Bright approves of the answer returned by Lord Granville to Prince Gortchakoff, and as his actual resignation at this moment would be construed to mean that he condemned it, and would present an appearance of divided counsels alike untrue and mischievous, Mr. Gladstone has obtained power from Mr. Bright to postpone the actual submission of this resignation until some moment when it can be carried into effect without such grave public inconvenience.

Mr. Gladstone will, of course, watch for such a moment: in the meantime has to convey to your Majesty, by Mr. Bright's desire, the expression of his gratitude for the confidence and condescension which your Majesty has been pleased to show him. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 25*th Nov.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly reports to your Majesty that the answer of Prince Gortchakoff dated the 20th was delivered to Lord Granville to-day, and laid before the Cabinet. Silky in manner and expression, it is not satisfactory in substance; a reply will be prepared for consideration by the Cabinet on Monday.

In the meantime an answer has been sent to a telegram which has been received from Mr. Odo Russell. In this answer, the Government express their willingness to enter into Conference, but not at St. Petersburg, nor with any foregone conclusion as to the result; the subject of deliberation to be any proposal which Russia might put forward for the modification of the Treaty of 1856.

The Cabinet also considered certain applications which have been made to Mr. Gladstone, inviting interference for the restoration in some manner or degree of the temporal power of the Pope.[1] No encouragement will be given to any expectation of such interference.

The Queen of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BERLIN, 26*th November* 1870.

DEAR FRIEND,—Many thanks for your last letter, the important part of which I have communicated to the King as well as to Fritz. . . .

The rising of a feeling of irritation against Germany, of which you speak, grieves me very much, for England has not had a more faithful adherent abroad than I have been since 1846 without wavering. This feeling can, however, scarcely be created by the violent language of our Press; for as far as I know the attacks against England have lately subsided, and this is particularly the case with the official newspapers, who received orders to meet England in a conciliatory spirit many weeks ago. I believe, therefore, this feeling to spring rather from a just anger against the step of Russia, attributing to Prussia in some degree a complicity in its guilt. As I apprehend a serious danger from this misunderstanding I have at once used my influence with the King to prevail upon him that our Government should energetically repudiate Russia's violation of the Treaty, and throw off the appearance of a secret understanding. I pointed out that our duty as well as our interest demanded this: our duty because Prussia, although less bound by the Treaty of Paris than other Governments, had as a European Power to guard against the arbitrary violation of guaranteed contracts: our interest because Prussia herself hopes soon to conclude a treaty of peace with France, and can therefore not wish that the binding power of international agreements should become weakened. Even Russia cannot desire this for her own sake, as the consequences of her breach of faith and violation of European law might some day turn fatally against herself. At the same time I pointed out that Russia would scarcely rest satisfied with her declaration, and might begin attacking Turkey in the spring. Now this could be prevented by an immediate understanding as to the course of action to be pursued, for only an alliance between the greatest maritime and military Powers of Europe, as well as between kindred nations, could render any future war impossible.

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[1] The Italian troops entered Rome after a comparatively trifling resistance on 20th September, and a plébiscite of the Papal States pronounced in October by an overwhelming majority in favour of union with the Italian Monarchy. See Introductory Note.

The King might therefore make use of the prestige he had so gloriously won to gain an object worthy of every consideration of humanity and civilisation. If England were likewise endeavouring to bring about this alliance, it would be sure to make its way into the heart of the respective nations. In Germany every one is well aware that the Emperor of Russia stands alone, since his sympathy for us; the Slavonic influence as well as the Danish connection will in future estrange Russia from Germany, and consequently the relations with England ought in our common interest to become closer. This is and remains the natural and correct policy for both countries, and it was always followed by Albert.

I could not yet expect a reply to these remarks from Headquarters, and have only heard that the King had been painfully surprised by the news from Petersburg, which had been kept quite secret.—AUGUSTA.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, 30*th Nov.* 1870.—Dull, raw, and cold. At quarter to eleven, started with Beatrice and Janie Ely (who had come down on purpose) and Lord C. FitzRoy, for Chislehurst, in Kent, where the poor Empress Eugénie is staying.

At the door [of Camden Place] stood the poor Empress, in black, the Prince Imperial, and, a little behind, the Ladies and Gentlemen. The Empress at once led me through a sort of corridor or vestibule and an ante-room into a drawing-room with a bow window. Everything was like a French house and many pretty things about. The Empress and Prince Imperial alone came in, and she asked me to sit down near her on the sofa. She looks very thin and pale, but still very handsome. There is an expression of deep sadness in her face, and she frequently had tears in her eyes. She was dressed in the plainest possible way, without any jewels or ornaments, and her hair simply done, in a net, at the back. She showed the greatest tact in avoiding everything which might be awkward, and enquired after Vicky and Alice, asked if I had had any news, saying, "Oh ! si seulement l'on pouvait avoir la paix." Then she said how much had happened since we had met at Paris and that she could not forget the dreadful impressions of her departure from there. She had remained as long as she could, but once General Trochu had allowed the Chambers to be taken possession of by the populace, there was nothing to be done but to go away. The garden had been already full of people who were entering the Tuileries, and there had been no troops to resist them. The night before she had lain down fully dressed, on her bed. The crossing had been fearful. Afterwards she talked of other things. The Prince Imperial is a nice little boy, but rather short and stumpy. His eyes are rather like those of his mother, but otherwise I think him more like the Emperor. Beatrice brought the Empress a nosegay from Louise. We stayed about half an hour and then left. The Empress again most kindly came to the door. It was a sad visit and seemed like a strange dream.

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

1*st Dec.* 1870.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty, and desires to report to your Majesty that the number of men to be included in the Army Estimates for the year 1871–2 was considered yesterday in the Cabinet.

It was the opinion of your Majesty's Servants that the number should be that of the establishment of the present year, as it has been increased by the Vote of 20,000 men taken just before Parliament rose. This, according to the present distribution, gives 107,669 men of all ranks of the Regular Army within the United Kingdom. It was thought that out of this number a considerable increase of the Field Artillery should be made. The precise addition was not finally determined, but it would be about double the present force, that is to say that while the present Field Artillery is calculated for an Army of 60,000, that for the coming year will be calculated for an Army of not less than 120,000.

As regards the Reserves, it was the opinion of the Cabinet that the Short Service Act of last year ought to be carried into as full execution as possible, in order that in England there may be, as in Prussia, a large body of men, who have been trained in the Regular Army, and are ready to join the Standards again on the occurrence of an emergency. By the present law, the Militia may consist of 120,000 men, including the Irish Militia, and, on the occurrence of an emergency, your Majesty has power to raise the number to 180,000. It was the opinion of the Cabinet that, under the altered circumstances of modern warfare, an addition of untrained men was not sufficient, and therefore that the establishment of the Militia should be raised to 180,000, and provision made in the present Estimates for raising as large a portion of the increased number within the present year as possible.

It was also the opinion of the Cabinet that the principle, established in the time of King William III, which puts the Militia under local control, is no longer applicable to the circumstances of the country, and that Parliament should be invited to sanction this force being placed more directly under the War Department, and that the officers should bear your Majesty's commission. It is also thought to be very desirable that men who have served in the Militia and leave it, should be invited to become members of a Reserve force liable, like the Militia, to serve only in the United Kingdom.

The want of any satisfactory organisation in the Volunteer force came under consideration; it was the opinion of your Majesty's Servants that more stringent rules ought to be laid down as regards the fitness of the officers for command, and the obligation of the men to come out for drill, when called upon. The Schools of Instructions, which opened so lately as the 1st September last, have already produced, as Mr. Cardwell believes, some good results: and it was the opinion of the Cabinet that no man should be allowed to command his fellow-men in action, unless he can show that he is qualified for the duty.

The foundation of every scheme of national defence is the common law obligation of every man to defend his country: and your Majesty's Servants, while believing that it is neither necessary, nor desirable, to resort, under any circumstances now probable, to actual conscription, are nevertheless of opinion that steps should be taken for registering the names of those who, under the present law, are liable to serve in the several districts. For this object the approaching Census will afford facility.

Mr. Cardwell has written to the Chief Secretary to enquire whether the Lord-Lieutenant proposes to call out the Irish Militia for training, and expects to receive an affirmative answer: in which case, that force will at once begin to be filled up. It is not probable that, including the Irish Militia, the whole force could be raised to more than 135,000 within the coming year.

The sum of the force, therefore, proposed to be raised within the coming year, and available within the United Kingdom for defence, may be stated as follows :

Regulars	107,000
Militia	135,000
Yeomanry	13,000
1st Army Reserve	10,000
2nd A.R. and Pensioners	25,000
	290,000

besides the Volunteers. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th Dec.* 1870.—After an early luncheon, went down to the door at half past two with Arthur, Leopold, and Beatrice, to receive the poor Empress, who had driven up by the Slopes. She was very nervous when she arrived, and as she walked upstairs said crying : "Cela m'a fait une telle émotion," and quite sobbed. I pressed her poor little hand and took her to the Audience Room, where were Lenchen and Louise, the latter walking with a stick. The Prince Imperial came in with the Empress. She took an interest in the room, which she said she had not seen before, and spoke of Windsor generally. Arthur and Leopold took the little Prince to see the Castle. The Empress became quite cheerful for a few minutes and spoke of the Duchess of Hamilton's daughter and sons, etc. When I asked her about her visit to Wilhelmshöhe, where she went about five weeks ago, she said she had intended staying two days, but "Quand j'ai appris que les Maréchaux arrivaient, je suis partie ! !" Took her down to the Mausoleum, in the closed carriage, as it was pouring, and, as always in the afternoon, it was lit up. She knelt before the tomb, then went up the steps to look at the dear reclining statue, which she thought very like, and said of the whole, "C'est bien beau, c'est chaud et clair, et cependant sérieux." In driving she again said how she prayed for Peace, and I answered I hoped it might be soon. "Croyez-vous ? Mais quelle paix peut-on faire ? Il n'y a pas de Gouvernement," in which I quite agreed and said what a misfortune the Revolution had been. "S'il n'y avait pas eu la Révolution, la paix se serait faite le lendemain, parce que nous ne pouvions plus résister." The Empress left again at four.

What a fearful contrast to her visit here in '55! Then all was state and pomp, wild excitement and enthusiasm—and now ? How strange that I should have seen these two Revolutions, in '48, and '70! The poor Empress looked so lovely in her simple black, and so touching in her gentleness and submission.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

11*th Dec.* 1870.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Granville is glad to hear that your Majesty is writing to the King. Your Majesty will probably take the opportunity, while condoling with his Majesty on his domestic affliction, [to] congratulate him on the Imperial dignity, even although it may be officially premature.[1] A few words in your Majesty's own words as to peace appearing to be soon at his command, and expressing a hope that he will accelerate it by a generous forbearance, will be a comfort to your Majesty to have said, although they may not have much effect.

Lord Granville hopes your Majesty will express in very strong terms to the Crown Prince how much your Majesty's Ministers know and appreciate his moderation, and his active and kindly feeling about England; that it is the one quarter to which we look for the maintenance and improvement of our good relations, in face of the great mass of prejudice that exists. . . .

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[1] It was on 18th December that the King of Prussia was acclaimed as Emperor at Versailles. See Introductory Note.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 11*th* *Dec.* 1870.— . . . The fighting that goes on daily distracts us. The French are determined to go on and we shall have to go on likewise. About Alsace and Lorraine there is but *one* voice all over Germany, that, if we do not keep them (or part of them), we shall be doing a wrong thing, as we shall be exposing ourselves to the same calamity as threatened us in July—being attacked and overrun by the French, whenever it suits them, as our frontiers are too weak to keep them out. Our only chance for a long era of peace, which Germany is burning and thirsting for, is by so subduing the French, that they will *not wish* to be at us again (at present they are not subdued and do not own themselves to be beaten), and making our frontier so formidable, that *we are* protected from the dangers of an attack. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 15*th* *Dec.* 1870.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet this day considered the reply proper to be made at once to the circular letter of Count Bismarck dated on the 3rd current. The circular produces on the Cabinet a most painful impression, and is calculated to inspire grave apprehensions for the future of Europe, if the power which Germany has acquired is to be employed in the spirit which governed some years back its proceedings in Denmark; and of which this circular carries some indications. But the Cabinet were clearly of opinion that the present duty is, without committing themselves or restraining their future freedom, to treat the subject in a manner as little controversial as possible, and to make it easy for the North German Government to reply in such a manner as will contribute to reassure the public mind. The draft of Lord Granville was drawn, and was also considered and amended, in this spirit.

The Cabinet also considered drafts prepared by Lord Granville for an invitation to the Conference on the question of the Black Sea, for a possible Protocol to be submitted to the Conference for adoption, and for the speech with which, according to form, Lord Granville would commence the proceedings. Of these drafts the Cabinet approved.

The Cabinet further took into consideration the various movements and demands now arising in various parts of the country with respect to the temporal power of the Pope. They are of opinion that the proper course for your Majesty's Government is to decline all interference with a view to the restoration of the temporal power, but should in a becoming manner by friendly representation, if it should be necessary, promote arrangements calculated to secure his freedom, independence, and becoming support. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

Berlin, 30*th Dec.* 1870.— . . . Many thanks for your dear letter which arrived to-day. It is so kind of you to break lances for the Germans in England; this mutual distrust is too dreadful, it must be the aim of our statesmen to dispel these feelings so unjust, unnecessary, and injurious to all that is useful. Here the feeling is getting much better. . . .

That the Prussian officers should be rude to the English ones is bad; but I fear our dear countrymen are a little awkward and ignorant of the forms which Germans are accustomed to. I know they quite neglect to have themselves named, and this the Prussians misunderstand and take for intentional rudeness, which they then fancy is their duty to return; this is too stupid, but *I know* it is the case. It all comes from an imperfect knowledge of one another's national habits, for I have found those Englishmen and Germans who have lived much in both countries get on particularly well together, and be the best of friends. Prussians are really very civil, but they expect this *Vorstellen*, introducing and presenting; and if it is forgotten they are offended. I do not think *half* the English that go abroad have an idea of this being necessary; on the other hand the Germans do not know that it is *not* the custom in England and this always creates little disagreeables, and when there is so much excitable matter in the air, and feelings are so irritated, every trifle is taken at more than it is worth. Hence these eternal squabbles and misunderstandings which make *me* utterly wretched.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER X

One month of 1871 was sufficient to bring the Franco-German war to an end. The steady bombardment of Paris and the rapid exhaustion of provisions, together with the complete failure of all the efforts for relief, disposed the Parisians, after a last despairing and unsuccessful sortie, to sue for terms. On the 23rd January M. Jules Favre went to Versailles to negotiate, and on the 28th an armistice was signed under which, while Paris was to be revictualled, the forts were to be surrendered, the *enceinte* disarmed, and the garrison to become prisoners of war. Elections were to be held at once for a National Assembly to meet early in February at Bordeaux, the then seat of the French Government, and to come to a decision as to peace or war. The electors returned a large majority for peace and to support M. Thiers, who became Chief of the Executive of the Republic. Preliminaries of Peace were signed at Versailles on 26th February. France was to cede Alsace and a large part of Lorraine, including Metz, and to pay five milliards of francs, the sphere of German military occupation to decrease in proportion as the money was paid. The German troops were to enter Paris; and accordingly they occupied the Elysée quarter from 1st to 3rd March. The only modifications of the original German terms which M. Thiers obtained were the retention of Belfort and the reduction of the indemnity from six to five milliards. The Treaty of Frankfort, embodying the agreed terms, but with some additional guarantees exacted by Bismarck, was signed in May.

It was partly because of the unsettled state of France that further guarantees were exacted. The sufferings of the siege, the entry of the German soldiers into Paris, the humiliating terms of the peace, the fact that the fate of France was being decided by a National Assembly at Bordeaux instead of Paris, exasperated the Parisian population; and in this state of feeling the Radical and Socialist extremists, many of whom belonged to the revolutionary organisation, the International Society, found their opportunity. They had the sympathy and assistance of a large portion of the National Guard; they accumulated arms and guns, and barricaded streets, in their quarters of Belleville and Montmartre. An attack upon them on 18th March by Government troops miscarried; accordingly, after assassinating two generals, the insurgents descended into the centre of the city, and by the close of the day had occupied the Hôtel de Ville and obtained control of Paris. The representatives of the Government retired to Versailles, where M. Thiers and his Ministers and the National Assembly had established themselves. The leaders of the insurrectionary movement, who were confirmed in office by an immediate municipal election, declared it to be their object to substitute for the highly centralised government of France a federation of autonomous communes; but, with the exception of Lyons, they secured no serious following outside Paris. The whole insurrection only lasted two months. Negotiations between Versailles and the Communists produced no result; and a new siege and bombardment of Paris were undertaken. Mistrust among the leaders paralysed the efforts of the insurgents; on 21st May the Versaillists effected an entry into the city, and on the two following days forced their way steadily towards the centre. On the night of the 23rd the Communists in desperation set fire to Paris, starting with the principal buildings, the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Palais Royal, and the Hôtel de Ville; and during that night and next day carried out a series of massacres, in the course of which Archbishop Darboy, who had been held as a hostage, was summarily shot. By the 25th the French Government were masters of Paris, whose central quarters they found to be blackened ruins. The infuriated Versailles troops took terrible reprisals, shooting for some days indiscriminately all the Communists who fell into their hands.

In the course of the year the National Assembly gave M. Thiers the position and title of President of the French Republic; and his energetic measures for paying off the indemnity were so successful that by the end of October the departments occupied militarily by the Germans were reduced from thirty-six to six. In Germany the Emperor rewarded the chief agents of victory by making Bismarck, now Chancellor of the Empire, a Prince, Moltke a Field-Marshal, and

Roon a Count. The proclamation of the dogma of infallibility and the loss of the Pope's temporal power produced a ferment among the German Roman Catholics. A liberal section, who repudiated the dogma, formed themselves into a separate body of Old Catholics; their principal leader, Dr. Döllinger, was excommunicated. The Ultramontanes, who demanded that Germany should aid the Pope to recover his temporal authority, had to be restrained by a Government Bill making political agitation in the pulpit penal.

The Conference which met in London early in the year abrogated, as was expected, that neutralisation of the Black Sea against which Russia protested.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States were materially improved by the negotiation, in the spring, of the Washington Treaty, providing for reference of the *Alabama* and similar claims to an arbitration tribunal sitting at Geneva. The year was further noteworthy in the United States for the exposure and defeat of the Tammany Ring which had organised municipal corruption in New York, for a serious attempt to stamp out bigamy in Mormon Utah, and for the destruction of a third of Chicago by fire.

At home, the Franco-German war gave an impetus to that reform and reorganisation of the army which Mr. Cardwell was carrying through. This year he tackled the principal obstacle in his way, the system of Purchase, by officers, of their commissions. The Bill to effect (among other things) the abolition of this abuse was passed through the House of Commons, not without difficulty, owing to persistent obstruction by a Conservative group of "Colonels"; it was met in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, the Conservative leader, with a dilatory motion, which was carried by 155 to 130. Whereupon Mr. Gladstone's Government advised the Queen to cancel by Royal Warrant the existing Warrant under which purchase was legal; and her Majesty, after requesting that the Cabinet should embody their advice in a formal minute, complied. There was considerable outcry at this solution, and the Lords censured the Government by eighty votes; but the Bill securing compensation to the Purchase officers passed into law. It was a disappointing session for Ministers. A match tax and an increase in the succession duty, imposed by their Budget, had both to be abandoned in face of general unpopularity; their Ballot Bill was defeated in the Lords; their Licensing Bill and their

Local Government Bill were so little to the taste of the House of Commons that they disappeared before second reading; in fact, with the exception of the Army Regulation Bill and a Bill abolishing tests at the Universities, hardly any Government measures of importance became law.

In 1871 criticism of the Queen's seclusion and of the monarchy in general revived, owing mainly to the stimulus which the establishment of a Republic in France gave to the theoretic republicanism of the extreme Radicals. Her Majesty's seclusion indeed was not so marked as in several previous years; for she opened Parliament in person, gave her daughter Princess Louise in marriage to Lord Lorne, presided over the inauguration of the Albert Hall and of the new buildings of St. Thomas's Hospital, and reviewed the Household Troops in Bushy Park. The principal complaint, however, was of the expense of royalty, and of what was represented as the small return in utility or ceremonial which the nation obtained for the Civil List of £385,000, together with additional grants to Royal children. The movement culminated in a lecture delivered by Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., at Newcastle on 6th November, in which he alleged that the Queen's savings must be enormous and almost amounted to "malversation" of public moneys, and that, in breach of her word, her Majesty did not pay income tax. Both charges were untrue and were officially denied; and there was a general revulsion of public feeling, and an outbreak of sympathy for the maligned Queen, who had been somewhat seriously out of health, during almost the whole of her autumn sojourn at Balmoral, from rheumatic gout and neuralgia. The sympathy became universal in late November and December, when the Prince of Wales was afflicted at Sandringham with a most severe and prolonged attack of typhoid fever, in the course of which he lay for several days at the point of death, with his mother, as well as his wife, constantly at his bedside. The critical turn for the better came on the anniversary of the very day, 14th December, when his father had died ten years before; and by the end of the year recovery was fairly assured.

BOROUGH OF [illegible] Hither Green BRANCH PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CHAPTER X

1871

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 1*st Jan.* 1871.—The bloody, sad, eventful year '70 has sunk in dark clouds, and '71 rises as sad and gloomy, but God, we pray in His mercy, may soon grant us peace. May He have mercy on the thousands of innocent lives that are being sacrificed, for no possible good to mankind!

The German Crown Prince to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

Headquarters, Versailles, 3*rd Jan.* 1871.— . . . Our Christmas festival here in our headquarters at Versailles was certainly a most peculiar one. I honestly confess that I felt more inclined often to shed tears than to enjoy a festival time, for I had a longing greater than I can say to be with my wife and children, from whom I am more separated it seems with every New Year.

Our honest wish to be able to greet this festival of heavenly peace with the peace that should at last be brought to the world by an end of the war with France, is blasted by the insane blindness of those who now have the power in France, and among these Gambetta seems to me nothing but a butcher. I cannot conceive how it is that he does not care more for the welfare of his countrymen, and how he can bear the burden of the guilt of blood that he must load upon his conscience by endless continuation of the war.

It would surely be no shame to France that has fought bravely, to confess at last that she has been beaten by an Army equal to hers. No one would accuse France of cowardice, or believe that her military honour had not had justice done it. But these are points of view which Gambetta and Trochu do not allow to be even entertained, especially since they well know that it would in that case be all over with the position of power which is at present so pleasant to them. We, therefore, see one bloody act following each month those that have gone before, and the flower of our youth snatched away, without anyone being able to say for how long yet the butchery may last.

Paris certainly, if one may trust the symptoms which now begin to show themselves, cannot hold out. It becomes, however, a question whether, when hunger compels the surrender of the city, the forts may not be occupied by the Army, and our occupation of the town be made useless thereby. Should such an event occur, we should be obliged again to inflict hardships which we would gladly spare the conquered. I do not expect besides that the fall of Paris will have much influence on the rest of the country, and will give us more than the advantage of being able to operate with greater effect against the new and constantly assembling masses of the French by the troops we shall then have in hand.

One hears from all sides the cry for peace getting more and more urgent, as also the cry for a Constituent Assembly, and the only answer to this on the part of the "Government of Defence" has lately been the dismissal of the "États-généraux des Départements" (the only representative bodies hitherto existent with a legitimate title), so that one can see from this that they wish to wage war for the sake of war, and regard human life as nothing. The unfortunate French, accustomed for generations to lying and being led in leading strings, allow themselves to lie under the terrorism of the lawyers, just as they suffered Napoleon III.

That we Germans are losing hold of sympathy in England I have already observed for a long time with grief, and this will go on increasingly till Paris falls, especially as the bombardment of the forts is now to begin. I do not know what could happen to overcome this unfortunate turn in feeling against us, because at all times the conquered are the receivers of sympathy. Further, England's way of carrying out neutrality has made such a deeply painful impression upon my countrymen, that no reason on earth will suffice to prove to them what the facts really are, and the German papers are always pouring oil on the fire, although America has furnished infinitely more arms than has dear old England. General Walker and Mr. O. Russell hear my sorrow often enough about these circumstances, which I fully understand.

Mr. Odo Russell's presence here is a decision of your Government which cannot be too much praised. He understands Germany, and with his knowledge of her, and inclination for her, it is immensely important that he should stay with us here now when our old Empire re-arises (though, thank God, with a quite altered form), and that, getting to know Bismarck thoroughly, he can make his hand everywhere felt to help and smooth matters, and clear away difficulties, when otherwise it would be easy for something or other to become a new firebrand.

I cannot thank you sufficiently for the warm good wishes you have always shown for Germany, and for our Army. I am well aware that you endeavour to set in the true light the miseries of war for which the Press is doing its best to stigmatise us as "Vandals." You judge German affairs with the same peculiar clearness and insight that enables you to decide in all important matters with wonderful accuracy. May God reward you richly for it, and may we again and again find through you, in your person, that support which has so often exercised a beneficial influence on the affairs of the world! So may the ground gradually be prepared upon which may arise the natural alliance that, binding England and Germany, will also embrace Austria! When these three mighty Empires stand firm together we may enjoin peace on the world, and a lasting peace may have been ensured by the present bath of blood.

When I look forward to my difficult future, I have always good confidence whenever I picture to myself the possibility of this Triple Alliance, which is certainly not to be regarded as illusory.

Now the liberal principle will rule in Germany, and by its own mighty power its blessing will be extended to our neighbours, and England will be more easily able than hitherto to estimate and learn to do justice to German affairs, where she is now only ready to see *Force* and *Militarism.*

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, *4th January* 1871.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—A thousand thanks for your dear and kind little letter for New Year's day, with the two charming little cards in it, which I have carefully put into a little book of relics.

I have sent off a large parcel to you, containing a screen. This screen stood in the Empress's Boudoir at St. Cloud. When the French shells set fire to the house, the Prussian soldiers, as you know, tried to extinguish the fire and save the valuable things. A Prussian soldier made his way through smoke and flames at great risk of his own life, and carried off this screen, which he delivered up to General Kirchbach (a few minutes later it would have been burnt). General Kirchbach asked the King's leave to send me this screen, and obtained it. Although St. Cloud is *not* the private property of the Emperor and Empress, and the *mobilier* belongs to the State—consequently is no longer theirs, yet *I* consider this, and everything else saved, *not* a trophy of war, and do *not* see *what right I* have to keep it. Moreover, I would not wish to have anything in my possession which had belonged to the Empress, who has always been *so kind* to me, and on different occasions made me such handsome presents. I have said nothing to any one at Versailles, neither to the King nor Fritz, as I can do what I like with a thing that has been sent to me, but I would ask you, dearest Mama, to restore this screen to the poor Empress when you think fit; you can tell her its history and how I came by it. Of course *I cannot offer* it as *a present*, whilst we are at war, that would not do; besides, I consider it simply restoring a piece of property to its rightful owner, which please must be YOUR *doing*. I trust in this way no one can blame me, whilst I am doing what I simply consider my duty.

I do *not* approve of war trophies, at least of *ladies* possessing them; for soldiers they are lawful of course, and every Army in the world considers them so. Perhaps you will kindly tell me *when* the parcel arrives, and when it has through your kindness reached its destination. . . .

Good-bye, dearest Mama; hoping you are enjoying dear Osborne, so peaceful and lovely, I remain, ever your most dutiful and devoted daughter, VICTORIA.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

7th Jan. 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and he should regret if anyone but your Majesty should convey such a charming message, so full of good and elevated feeling, from your Majesty's daughter.

Your Majesty will know, of course, whether there is any chance of the act getting the Crown Princess into any difficulty with any of her Royal Highness's own people, but it could hardly signify if it did.

16 BRUTON STREET, *8th Jan.*—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He answered your Majesty's note yesterday on the impulse of the moment, and under the influence of

admiration at the Crown Princess's good and elevated sentiments. But a night's reflection has made him doubt of the advice he ventured to give to your Majesty.

In this country war trophies mean flags and guns, etc., etc.; the presents taken from palaces and country houses, which are said to have been sent in great quantities from France to Germany, would be called here acts of plunder, or looting. There may be a slight distinction in an article taken from a palace belonging to the State, which had been destroyed by the fire of the French; but in English ideas it would have been better if the Crown Prince had abstained from anything that looked like a sanction to the habit of the German Army. It would be difficult for your Majesty to receive as a present something which is known to have been taken from the palace of a State with which your Majesty is in friendly alliance; and there is something awkward in restoring, to the Empress here, that which belongs to the State in France. The offer might be refused, and the French *entourage* might make much of this proof of plunder.

Lord Granville has consulted nobody. He would speak to the Chancellor if your Majesty desires it, but he thinks the safest course would be for your Majesty to explain to the Crown Princess how much your Majesty appreciates her good feelings in this matter, but that you cannot accept a present of this sort, that you feel delicacy about offering it to the Empress at this time, but that, if her Royal Highness wishes it, you will desire the screen to remain unpacked until the war is over, when the Crown Princess may decide what to do with it.

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, *8th Jan.* 1871.—Colonel Ponsonby humbly begs leave to return to your Majesty these letters.

Lord Granville's second letter is certainly the most prudent advice, and Colonel Ponsonby ventures most humbly to think it would be better that the parcel should not remain here longer than necessary. When newspaper correspondents interview everybody, some inkling of the story will get out, and ill-natured distortions of a well-meaning act might rouse the angry feeling in England against the Crown Prince, and attempt to associate with it your Majesty's name.

[*Copy.*] *Memorandum by Queen Victoria.*
Private.

Osborne, 11*th Jan.* 1871.—The Queen hopes that the Cabinet will be unanimous upon one point, viz.: in insisting on Mr. Gladstone's adhering *strictly* to the *policy of neutrality* when violent expressions of opinion for one side or the other are made use of in Parliament. The danger is too great for us to compromise ourselves beforehand. An appeal should be made to Parliament to abstain as much as possible from discussing the war, on account of the inevitable consequence it would have of dragging us into the contest.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

12*th Jan.* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to return a copy of your Majesty's letter.

He quite agrees with your Majesty as to the importance of a consistent observance of neutrality in action and in language on the part of the Ministry, but it will be impossible for them to check discussions in Parliament, which may have a bad effect.

He believes that the House of Commons will be found more sensible than is expected about Foreign Affairs, but there will be striking exceptions. It will be odd if Messrs. Odger and Bradlaugh do not a little damp the French feeling of the House of Lords and the Conservatives. On the other hand, it is impossible that the bombardment of Paris, and the misery of the French people, should not create sympathy.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] VERSAILLES, 14*th January* 1871.

DEAREST SISTER,— . . . The lively sympathy with the unexpected and glorious successes of the war, which you have several times expressed through Fritz, has been a source of much gratification to me. It cannot be denied that these important successes have resulted on a scale beyond all human expectation.

The greatest event, the surrender of Napoleon himself into my hands, is indeed a landmark in the history of the world. But I could not share in the exultation to which almost everyone then gave expression, and I said at the time that the extinction of the Government in France would render peace much more difficult of attainment.

The acts of the new dictators, who, without any constitutional title, at once proclaimed the Republic and *la défense à outrance*, have proved that I was not wrong. After defeats such as those of Metz and Sedan, the new rulers ought simply to have offered to make peace; but, as a contrary course was pursued, the continuance of the war must be attributed to them, and not to us. If we had been willing to conclude a dishonourable peace, in opposition to the expectations of all Germany, and without taking into account the enormous sacrifices of her life and health, we might have accepted the proposals made by J. Favre in September. But as the representative of victorious Germany, no one could have expected me to take such a step; and as matters remain unchanged, I am still unable to respond to the ardent appeal for the conclusion of peace, which you have made to my feelings of generosity and mercy. I am ready at any moment to arrange terms of peace on the basis which I laid down in September, but the enemy by immense efforts continually brings forward fresh troops (thus arming the country and its population), and, though everywhere defeated by us, still declines to accept these bases of peace, and on the contrary prefers to fight *à outrance.* Under these circumstances how is an understanding possible?

When terror reigns, when nothing, neither money, life, nor position, is respected by such a Government, and the country is brought to a state of ruin, which years cannot obliterate, how can reason prevail or any disposition to negotiate show itself? And still less, as the dictators must foresee that the result of any such negotiations must be the end of their power, and that above all they do not desire to bring about. Their patriotism is a mere mask for their egotism, which in reality is but ambition, and the misguided enthusiasm of a people deluded by a system of lies and deceptions.

I have myself long observed with much regret all that you kindly tell me about the change of popular feeling in England, which, after our first astonishing successes, was all in favour of Germany. The irritation unfortunately shown by a great portion of the German Press may have a great share in it, and also the long duration of the war, in spite of our continued successes. But that irritation may perhaps be excused when we consider that it is caused by the manner in which England carried out her neutrality, so contrary to our hopes and expectations, which were based partly on our ignorance perhaps of English law, and partly because many voices were heard pointing out that the law left full power to the Government to carry out a "benevolent neutrality" in favour of that belligerent, who, it was admitted, had right on her side. At the outset both the Government and the public voice of England acknowledged right to be on the side of Germany, for no one could overlook the frivolous pretext upon which France declared war against her.

It is certainly most unjust that, not only in England, but also in Germany, I am blamed for the long duration of the war. I can only again repeat what I have already said about the chances of peace. How can Germany be expected to make peace, if, after the surrender of the whole Army, which the enemy led against us in August, the new dictators still refuse to listen to all terms, and having inscribed *défense à outrance* on their standards, have ever since done all that they could to carry this motto into effect? After this, can anyone seriously expect that Germany should offer peace? . . .

No one can regret more than I do the signs of ill-feeling which are arising between England and Germany, for the two countries are in all respects destined to go hand in hand, especially since our union has been effected: and I feel sure that this principle will again be recognised, as soon as a calm and deliberate judgment can be formed. Still the anti-German meetings which are on the increase in England are a display which can only augment the irritation of the German people; who, in the consciousness of their union and consequent consolidation of strength, were not prepared for such demonstrations on the part of England.

This leads me to allude to the great event, which has now placed me at the head of all Germany. I have myself never wished for this position; indeed I never believed in the possibility of its being ever created: although I cannot but be proud that God has chosen to raise me, and the Kingdom of Prussia, to the important position which we have occupied since 1866.

I had never hoped nor wished for a change of title from that of Prussia, and it is not without some regret that I now submit to an evident necessity. I take it with humility, as I do all God's dealings with us. . . . WILHELM.

Princess Augustus of Coburg[1] *to Queen Victoria.*

[*Copy.*] VIENNE, *le* 20 *Janvier* 1871.

CHÈRE VICTORIA,—Comment *toi*, l'heureuse Reine d'un grand et bel empire, *toi* dont je connais l'âme généreuse, le cœur bon et compatissant, n'élèves-tu pas la voix pour sauver la vie à des milliers de femmes et d'enfants, pour empêcher le bombardement, la destruction de Paris, de ce beau Paris, qui t'a si bien accueillie, qui t'a acclamée avec enthousiasme ? Comment la libre, riche, puissante Angleterre ne fait-elle rien pour mettre un terme à l'ambition et à la barbarie du nouvel Empereur d'Allemagne, et aider mes héroïques compatriotes à sauver la France ? Comme descendante de St. Louis, comme femme d'un descendant de Witékind, j'ai cru pouvoir élever la voix dans ces jours de deuil et de douleur, et protester contre des actes qui ruinent la France et qui déshonorent l'Allemagne ! !

Cousine, ta vieille amie tu me pardonneras de t'avoir parlé si franchement, et tu me permettras de me dire toujours, ma chère Victoria, ta bien dévouée Cousine et amie, CLÉMENTINE.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 20*th Jan.* 1871.—The Queen has to thank Lord Granville for his last letter. She rejoices much at the peaceable prospect of the Russian difficulty,[2] and feels sure this is again due to Lord Granville's tact and judgment. Mr. Gladstone also praises Baron Brunnow. Indeed it must be a source of satisfaction to all true patriots to see us try to be on good terms with someone at least, and not to try and alienate us yet more, as the Press seems bent on doing, from everyone. The Queen feels a little alarmed at the proposal of this draft to Mr. Odo Russell, and especially at this apparent divergence from our passive conduct not having first been mentioned to her.[1]

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[1] She was Princess Clémentine, daughter of King Louis Philippe, and Prince Augustus was Queen Victoria's first cousin.

[2] Through the London Conference, just about to meet.

The Queen is glad to say that she found Lord Derby[2] most sensible and reasonable on foreign politics, and most reassuring as to there being no attempt to force the Government and country into war. The sympathies, strange to say (for no one exactly knows why), have become very French, but he said that no one but the very smallest number of very foolish people wished for our joining in a war against Germany. . . .

Memorandum by Mr. Cardwell for Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE [*Jan.* 1871].—The abolition of Purchase[3] involves the extensive introduction of the principle of selection; and the employment on an extensive scale of Army officers in the Reserve Forces involves a further large extension of the same principle.

These two considerations adding largely to the authority of the Commander-in-Chief will, irrespectively of any agitation or temporary prejudice, give occasion of necessity for a full consideration of the manner in which selection shall be exercised.

The abolition of the authority of the Lords-Lieutenant of Counties in respect of the Reserve Forces, and the transfer of that authority to the War Department, thus combining powers hitherto kept separate, and the reorganisation of the whole military system thus introduced, while it adds to the power of the Commander-in-Chief, renders it absolutely necessary that there should no longer be a local separation between the two offices.[4]

In conjunction with Mr. Gladstone, I have undertaken on his part, as well as on my own, to sustain the Commander-in-Chief to the best of our ability, but we consider that, for the good of the service, and for his own comfort and advantage, the following changes ought to be made, and that making them is essential to a successful defence in Parliament, viz.:

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[1] See below, p. 123.

[2] The 15th Earl, the Lord Stanley of Vol. I, who succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father (the Lord Derby who was Prime Minister) on 23rd Oct. 1869.

[3] Which it was the policy of the Government to carry through in the Session of 1871. See Introductory Note.

[4] At this period the War Office was in Pall Mall, while the Commander-in-Chief was located at the Horse Guards in Whitehall.

1. A reconstitution of the Military Secretary's Department, so that selections both in the Army and in the Reserve Forces may be submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, and to the Secretary of State, by a responsible public officer.

2. The omission of the exception in the Royal Warrant, which exempts the Commander-in-Chief and his staff from the general rule of temporary employment.

3. The immediate union of both departments under one roof.

This last point was strongly urged by Sir James Graham's committee in 1860, under far less urgent circumstances. Eleven years have passed and nothing has been done, except indeed that the Commander-in-Chief has taken for himself a room in the War Office. But this experiment has been productive of no advantage.

Mr. Gladstone writes to me that he had a conversation with his Royal Highness yesterday, in which he pointed out that "in his firm judgment it was for the *interest* of his high office that we should nip agitation in the bud, and prevent the growth of an angry and jealous controversy, by carrying the question to its conclusion at once."

His Royal Highness is as conscious as I am of the extreme inconvenience of separation, though he dislikes the idea of removal from the Horse Guards: and Mr. Gladstone suggests that, if the arrangement which is now so urgently required, and which would only be temporary, be adopted, the whole subject of the permanent building may be reconsidered with advantage, in the hope of arriving at a plan which may erect the permanent building on the site of the present

Horse Guards building, which he believes would be acceptable to the Queen, and which his Royal Highness would much prefer. Mr. Gladstone himself and I both think this a far better situation than that on the Embankment; but difficulties, of which time was one, induced the Cabinet to adopt the Embankment plan.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.

[*Copy.*]

24*th Jan.* 1871.—The Queen has given her most anxious attention to Mr. Cardwell's proposals for the reorganisation of the Commander-in-Chief's office and the Army, and is sure he will understand that she has considered them with an earnest desire to support him and the Government in the furtherance of measures which may tend to the improvement of the Army, and the good of the country, without impairing the rights and dignity of the Crown.

It is under no ordinary circumstances that the Queen is called on to give a decision on these important matters, being a time of unusual excitement in the public mind on military affairs, and with a frightful war raging in France, the result and effect of which no one can foresee. The Queen, therefore, cannot fail to view with some apprehension considerable changes, and trusts no proposals for change will be submitted to her merely for the sake of silencing clamour, unless it is evident that it will be beneficial to the public service.

The first proposal submitted by Mr. Cardwell is for the reconstitution of the Military Secretary's department, so that selections both in the Army and Reserve Forces may be submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, and Secretary of State, by a responsible public officer. The difference which will be effected by this arrangement, compared to the existing one, will be, if the Queen understands the proposal, that the Military Secretary will be appointed independent of the Commander-in-Chief. But the Queen does not understand how far he will be responsible, independent of the Commander-in-Chief. If the meaning is that this officer will be consulted as to appointments and promotions by the Secretary of State, it seems to the Queen that it would place the Commander-in-Chief in a very anomalous position, and if he is not to be consulted in this manner, the Queen cannot see the advantage of the proposed system over the one now existing.

With reference to the exception of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff from the Royal Warrant limiting the period of service, the Queen thought that that exception had been introduced after mature consideration of the case, and the Queen cannot see the advantage of introducing the limitation. It moreover strikes the Queen that, as it is not intended to apply it to the Duke of Cambridge, the introduction of it, for future cases only, will appear invidious.

The third point is one on which probably there is no difference of opinion, viz.: that the Commander-in-Chief and the War Office should be under one roof, the question being how it can be best effected. The Queen would certainly prefer seeing an extension of the Horse Guards building made at once, to any other plan.

The abolition of Purchase, if the Government is prepared to deal liberally with the officers of the Army, is a measure against which the Queen can say nothing, and can only hope it may be productive of the advantages which are expected to arise from it. Of course the new system of promotion and selection, which must be adopted in consequence of the change, will require careful consideration.

The Queen also trusts that the plan for the amalgamation of the Army and Reserve forces may prove efficient.

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

25th Jan. 1871.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty, and submits to your Majesty the following explanations, which he trusts may prove satisfactory, on the three points on which your Majesty has desired him to give a further explanation.

As regards the Military Secretary, that officer is at present a member of the personal staff of the Field - Marshal Commanding - in - Chief. But the measures which your Majesty's Servants desire to submit to Parliament in the coming Session will impose upon his Royal Highness an amount of selection hitherto unknown in the Army. This will greatly increase the power of the Crown, while it will impose a heavy burden both on the Duke of Cambridge, and also on the Secretary of State, who will be called upon to sustain in Parliament the choice made by his Royal Highness, whenever that choice shall be questioned.

Mr. Cardwell feels that to render this possible, the Military Secretary should, like the Adjutant-General, be a military officer of high rank, approved by your Majesty, and appointed for a limited period. This is not intended to render him independent of the Commander-in-Chief, but subordinate, as the Adjutant-General now is. This is the change submitted for your Majesty's approval, and without it Mr. Cardwell feels sure that Parliament will not consent to vest in the Commander-in-Chief the extensive power of selection, which is necessary both for the abolition of Purchase, and also for the union of the Reserve Forces with the Regulars.

As regards the position of the Commander-in-Chief, it has appeared to Mr. Gladstone and to Mr. Cardwell that the exception in the Royal Warrant will be difficult to defend on principle, but that good reason may be shown why the Duke of Cambridge, or any successor who may be administering that high office with advantage to the public service, should, under the letter of service, continue without any enforcement of the rule which limits the tenure to five years. The tenure would continue during your Majesty's pleasure.

The question of locality is one, which there appears an absolute necessity to meet by a temporary arrangement, and there is now the opportunity of making such a temporary arrangement by the space which the recent reductions have given in Pall Mall. It has always been very inconvenient, as General Peel pointed out, and Sir James Graham's committee in 1860 affirmed, that the two offices should be separate. But the proposed union of the Reserve Forces with the Regulars adds so immeasureably to this inconvenience, that the urgency for the union is extreme.

By this temporary arrangement the necessity for an immediate decision as to the permanent building will be averted, and Mr. Cardwell will be very glad if, with time for reconsideration, it shall be found possible to erect the new building on the much preferable site of the present Horse Guards.

Mr. Cardwell desires emphatically to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty's injunction that no proposals for change shall be submitted merely for the sake of silencing clamour has been observed in the present instance, and that these changes are recommended for your Majesty's gracious approval in the confident assurance that they will be beneficial to the public service.

The German Crown Prince to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

VERSAILLES, 29*th Jan.* 1871.—Three weeks' Armistice. To-day we occupy all the forts round Paris, garrison prisoners of war.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.

[*Draft.*]

OSBORNE, 1*st Feb.* 1871.—The Queen has seen Lord Halifax, and has read the Memorandum given by Mr. Cardwell to him, as well as the remarks on it by the Duke of Cambridge, relative to the future position of the Military Secretary.[1]

She is very glad to find that an arrangement can be arrived at which will be satisfactory to the Duke, and as the Queen hopes will conduce to the efficiency of the public service. The object she has had in view has been the maintenance of the just authority of the Commander-in-Chief now, and for the future, which she considered could not be supported if the Military Secretary were not an officer entirely in the Commander-in-Chief's confidence, selected by him with the approval of the Secretary of State. The Queen is sure that Mr. Cardwell will agree with her that no Commander-in-Chief could satisfactorily or efficiently carry on his important duties if any individual was supposed to exist in his office, whose opinion on matters relating to the discipline and promotion of the Army could be preferred to his. No one is more thoroughly impressed than the Duke of Cambridge with the opinion that the Secretary of State is responsible to the Queen and to the country for all the acts of the Commander-in-Chief, and it is clear that the arrangement now proposed in no way alters their relative positions.

The Queen hopes and trusts that there will be no further difficulty in settling this question. . . .

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

2nd Feb. 1871.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty and has the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter. He desires to repeat the assurance which he has before given to your Majesty, that he has no other wish than to uphold the just authority of the Commander-in-Chief, and to preserve to the Army the confidence that the patronage of the Army is not disposed of, in the language of Sir James Graham's committee, for the convenience of a political party.

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[1] The Queen had written to Mr. Cardwell, on 29th January, that she could not sanction the proposed arrangement about the Military Secretary until the Secretary of State had come to an agreement on the point with the Commander-in-Chief.

In order to sustain this just authority, Mr. Cardwell feels that some explanations to Parliament will be necessary at a time when such great additions to the power of the Commander-in-Chief are asked for: and it was on this account that, with Mr. Gladstone's sanction and entire concurrence, he submitted the change which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve with respect to the Military Secretary: and also the change in the tenure of the Commander-in-Chief's office, and the union of all the offices in one building.

Mr. Cardwell is satisfied that the concessions which it is desired Parliament should make cannot be asked for, if it shall not be made clear to Parliament that the tenure of the Commander-in-Chief's office is such as to be compatible with the responsibility of your Majesty's advisers for the great powers which will be exercised by the Military Department, and that the local arrangement is such as to enable those powers to be exercised with convenience to the public service.

It was on this account, and with a perfect readiness on Mr. Gladstone's part, as well as Mr. Cardwell's, to sustain in discussion the propriety of continuing in the hands of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the office of Commander-in-Chief, that the change in the tenure of that office was submitted for your Majesty's approval. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th Feb.* 1871.—After luncheon saw Mr. Gladstone, who looks upon the future very gloomily, but thinks there will be peace. I urged strongly the necessity for great prudence and for not departing from our neutral position. The only thing I thought, which might possibly justify combined action on the part of all the neutrals, would be if a recommencement of hostilities seemed imminent. We might all protest and insist on both belligerents giving way, but it would never do for us to take action alone, in which Mr. Gladstone quite agreed. He proposed to bring in Louise's Dowry[1] next week and at once to set at rest all the very unpleasant cavilling on the subject. He thought it was all mere nothing and could not understand it in this case, where the marriage was so popular, when no difficulty had been made before for my other daughters. Then saw Lord De Grey, who is going to New York as one of the Commissioners to try and settle these long pending claims.[2]

9th Feb.—Left at ten for London, with Louise, Beatrice, Leopold, Jane C., and the two Equerries. Lunched before one, and dressed for the opening of Parliament. Wore a dress trimmed with ermine and my new small diamond Crown, over a veil, on my head. Louise and Beatrice drove with me in the carriage. There was a great crowd and much cheering and enthusiasm. Got out at the same entrance as last time. Louise and Beatrice stood on the steps of the throne, and Arthur to my right, near Bertie. Alix, Lenchen, and Mary Teck sat on the Woolsack. The Commons took a long time coming in. The Speech was extremely long, was read very well by the Lord Chancellor, in a fine powerful voice. More cheering on the way back. Reached Buckingham Palace at three. Had rather a bad headache, so I kept quiet and at five returned to Windsor. The park was immensely crowded, when I drove to the station.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *25th Feb.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to submit to

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[1] Parliament voted Princess Louise an annuity of £6,000 and a dowry of £30,000.

[2] Those concerned with the *Alabama* and similar vessels.

your Majesty that yesterday afternoon he learned from Lord Granville that the Government of France had appealed to your Majesty's Government to remonstrate against the amount of war indemnity demanded by Germany from France, which, said the Duc de Broglie, was one absolutely beyond their power to pay. The sum named was 240 millions sterling, to be liquidated within a short time, and subject to deductions, such as not greatly to affect the question.

The Cabinet was summoned at once: and your Majesty's Ministers found themselves under the necessity, in point of time, either of accepting or of declining at once that appeal.

They could not dissent from the opinion of the French Government that no such engagement could be contracted with an intelligent and honourable intention to fulfil it.

They concluded accordingly that they could not decline the appeal; and their views were set forth in a draft at once prepared for communication to the two Governments. . . .

The German Crown Prince to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

VERSAILLES, 27*th Feb.* 1871.—Preliminaries of peace signed. We keep Metz but cede Belfort to France. War indemnity reduced by one milliard. Satisfaction general, God be praised for it!

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 4*th March* 1871.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—A thousand most tender thanks for your dear and kind letter by messenger. I am sure it must give *you* who are so generous, kind and just, *pain* to think of the animosity growing in England against Germany, but it is *no* use shutting our eyes against facts, and that it *is* one I do not doubt. It makes your position often trying, I am sure; but I *can* understand what that position is; you must not in any way allow yourself to be separated from your own people—the *first* people in *the world*, for I MAY say so to YOU, and it is every day *more* my *conviction.* How much I have suffered from the feeling between the two nations I cannot say! How at times unkindly and unjustly I have been used! And how many tears I have shed! But one must learn to look at things philosophically. Peoples are like individuals in many things. One knows what a quarrel is between friends or relations, one can trace the reasons, small or great, and can calculate their effects on an excited brain. *Time* cures this. Now we have *peace at last*, the news of *our* doings in France will no longer exasperate the English by working up their pity for the *most unfortunate* but guilty French.

Peace too will put an end to the *part* of a *neutral*, which is a *most* difficult part; and though I regretted England *should* have played it, still I think the Government has done it *admirably*; that it should have been taken at all, exasperated Germany; *now* that reason is removed I am sure it will calm down. If *angry* words, scoffs and taunts, thrown backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock, conjure up mischief and ill-will, so *must kind* acts and words, and the rightly expressed sentiments of *sensible men*, reproduce the feelings which ought to exist between Germany and England. Count Bismarck is not *eternal*, he will be as quickly forgotten as the poor Emperor Napoleon, who is now scarcely remembered. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

16 BRUTON STREET, *8th March* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He thinks there can be no objections to private congratulations from your Majesty to your relations, placing them as much as possible on the cessation of war, the personal distinction that has been obtained,

their present safety, and the acquired unity of Germany, but avoiding allusion to the terms of peace.

If your Majesty's Government can devise congratulations which can be addressed to both parties, without giving offence to the conquered country, Lord Granville will be glad to send them in the name of your Majesty, but this is very difficult. . . .

[*Copy.*] *Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8*th March* 1871.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—I write by the Queen's commands to let you know that her Majesty is sorry to perceive by Mr. Odo Russell's letter how much he is distressed by the disavowal of his opinions by Mr. Gladstone, and how he consequently finds himself placed in a very painful position.[1]

The Queen hopes you have commended him for his conduct while at Versailles, and her Majesty wishes you would communicate to him her warm approval of his tact and ability while engaged in this most difficult mission. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 17*th March* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet to-day again considered at great length the proper form of a reply to the proposal from America of a basis for the settlement, by an arbitration previously instructed in certain respects, of the *Alabama* and other cruiser claims. They arrived at the conclusion, that we might properly admit it to have been our duty to use becoming diligence in order to prevent the escape of vessels intended to injure a friendly Power: securing,

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[1] At Versailles, Mr. Odo Russell had secured Count Bismarck's consent to call a Conference on the Black Sea question by arguing that otherwise Great Britain would be compelled, with or without allies, to go to war with Russia. Mr. Gladstone explained that Mr. Russell had no specific authority from the Government to use this argument.

however, the acknowledgment of the United States that rules framed in this view should hereafter be deemed internationally binding as between the two countries. The Cabinet do not at present see how it would be possible for them to advise proceeding farther than this in the way of concession. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Undated.*]—Lord Granville is deeply grateful for your Majesty's gracious approbation of what has been done in Conference.[1] He believes there will be a sharp attack, but he cannot think it will be genuine. All the alternatives were impracticable.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *27th March* 1871.—At a little before three, went down with our children and Ladies and Gentlemen to receive the Emperor Napoleon. I went to the door with Louise and embraced the Emperor "comme de rigueur." It was a moving moment, when I thought of the last time he came here in '55, in perfect triumph, dearest Albert bringing him from Dover, the whole country mad to receive him, and now! He seemed much depressed and had tears in his eyes, but he controlled himself and said, "Il y a bien longtemps que je n'ai vu votre Majesté." He led me upstairs and we went into the Audience Room. He is grown very stout and grey and his moustaches are no longer curled or waxed as formerly, but otherwise there was the same pleasing, gentle, and gracious manner. My children came in with us. The Emperor at once spoke of the dreadful and disgraceful state of France, and how all that had passed during the last few months had greatly lowered the French character, the officers breaking their parole included. There seemed to be "point d'énergie." He was dreadfully shocked at "tout ce qui se passe à Paris." He said he had been most kindly treated at Wil-

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[1] The Conference of London on the Black Sea.

H. I. M. The Emperor Napoleon III.

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helmshöhe, and that he had kept well all through the winter. He expressed renewed admiration of England and spoke of its being sixteen years since he came to Windsor. He then asked to present his nephew Prince Joachim Murat and le Comte d'Avillier who had been with him in Germany. I took him to the Corridor where all my people were assembled, and Lenchen and Christian also came. The Emperor said a kind word to all. After this I took him back to the Audience Room, and while we were alone he began to allude to the origin of the war, but we were unfortunately interrupted, which was very provoking. At half past three I took him downstairs again and he left. The Commune has been elected and is going to sit at Paris![1]

Buckingham Palace, 28*th March*.—Dull, windy, and raw. After breakfast left for London with Louise, Beatrice, Leopold, and Lorne. Immense crowds at the station and quantities of people everywhere, who cheered tremendously. The loyalty towards me and friendliness to Louise[2] very great. Had an escort of the Blues. Arrived at Buckingham Palace at quarter to twelve. The wind was very cold. Bad news from Paris. Dressed for the Drawing-room and wore the same head-dress as at the wedding. It was a dreadfully long Drawing-room. I remained an hour and a quarter and then Alix took my place. Felt very tired. [At dinner] Lord Halifax spoke about foreign affairs and the dreadful state of France. When we had been praising Lord Granville, he alluded to how badly foreign affairs had been conducted by Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, saying, it was not to be told what good I had done in that time by checking their reckless course and that he would repeat that at any time to the world at large.

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[1] For the proceedings of the Commune in Paris, see Introductory Note.

[2] The Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne had been married at Windsor Castle on 21st March.

29*th March*.—At a little after twelve, started in nine dress closed carriages (mine with a pair of creams) for the Albert Hall, for its opening. I drove with dear Alix and Ernest Coburg.[1] Immense and very loyal crowds out. Bertie received us at the door and then we walked up the centre of the immensely crowded Hall (8,000 people were there), which made me feel quite giddy. Bertie read the address from the dais, to which we had been conducted, very well, and I handed to him the answer, saying: "In handing you this answer I wish to express my great admiration of this beautiful Hall, and my earnest wishes for its complete success." This was greatly applauded. The National Anthem was sung, after which Bertie declared the Hall open. Good Mr. Cole[2] was quite crying with emotion and delight. It is to Colonel Scott of the Engineers, who built the Hall, that the success of the whole is due. We then went upstairs to my Box, which is not quite in the centre, and heard Costa's cantata performed, which is very fine. I had never been at such a big function since beloved Albert's time, and it was naturally trying and *émotionnant* for me. I thought of poor dear General Grey, who had been so enthusiastic and anxious about this undertaking and who was not permitted to see the building completed!

Osborne, 8*th April*.—Still dreadful news from Paris. The Commune have everything their own way, and they go on quite as in the days of the old Revolution in the last century, though they have not yet proceeded to commit all the same horrors. They have, however, thrown priests into prison, etc. They have burnt the guillotine and shoot people instead. I am so glad I saw Paris once more, though I should not care to do so again.

Had a touching letter from Bertie, written after the poor baby's[3] death. He had not at first been alarmed about the child, but towards the end he was. He says: "I feel sure you will feel for us in our sorrow, as it is a bitter pang to part with a little child, who has hardly been twenty-four hours in this world. From the first I feared its life was precarious, but we went on hoping to the last. We both of us quite broke down at the short and simple Christening yesterday evening, and also to-day when I had to tell dear Alix all was over. She was and is much upset, but thank God is going on as satisfactorily as possible." Bertie adds that they wish the poor child buried at Sandringham quietly, and have asked the Dean of Windsor, as one of his oldest friends, to come down to perform the service. Mrs. Stonor also wrote most kindly and at full length, giving all the details. Everyone feels very much for dear Bertie and Alix.

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[1] The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Prince Consort's brother.

[2] Afterwards Sir Henry Cole.

[3] Prince Alexander John Charles Albert, born on 6th April, and died next day.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 14*th April* 1871.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—I have received the Queen's commands to convey to you her Majesty's earnest hope that the Government will not enter into communication with the individuals who are now in power in Paris. Not having as yet seen Mr. Malet's letter, the Queen is not fully informed of the nature of the proposed mediation, but presumes that the telegram sent by you to Lord Lyons on the 13th was framed with the object of preventing, as far as possible, any further effusion of blood. But her Majesty cannot believe that any good result would ensue from Mr. Malet's intervention. To render his services of any avail he must of course assume the responsibility of submitting the proposals of the Communists to the Government at Versailles. The Communists could make their own proposals, but in all probability they would not be so readily listened to as if they were made by Mr. Malet, as in that case they would apparently have the support of her Majesty's Government.

The Queen scarcely thinks it necessary to allude to the characters of those who now rule in Paris, which, if the newspaper reports be true, are such as would repel all desire for association on the part of honest men; but the Queen feels bound to observe that the tenure of each man's office is so uncertain, that an agreement made with one official may be repudiated by his successor before it could be delivered at Versailles.

Besides which, there is no reason to suppose that they are sufficiently powerful to carry into effect any agreement they make, if it be opposed to the views of the noisiest agitators, and it may be feared that they would not hesitate to cancel any agreement that at an earlier moment they may have been compelled by pressure to propose.

The Queen, therefore, trusts that the later telegram transmitted by you to Lord Lyons may prevent Mr. Malet from acting as mediator between the French Government and the insurgents. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER, 14*th April* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and regrets extremely that the telegram should have been sent without your Majesty's approval. His telegram of to-day and those of Colonel Ponsonby to him must have crossed. He has telegraphed to Lord Lyons to suspend action. Lord Granville, however, ventures to think the message was right. There has been, and necessarily must be, some communication between the Embassy and the insurgents, and if an intimation of an unofficial character made at the desire of M. Thiers had any chance of stopping the bloodshed, and restoring order and the authority of the Assembly, there seems to Lord Granville to be a justification for making it.

In these matters, if anything is to be done, time is invaluable, which is Lord Granville's only excuse for having acted at once and sent a message to which he did not anticipate any objection from your Majesty.

He most respectfully offers his excuses to your Majesty for having done so.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 15*th April* 1871.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen has this afternoon received your letter of the 14th.

Her Majesty thinks that if such mediation made at the desire of M. Thiers would stop further slaughter and restore order, there would be, as you say, a justification for making it. And if after to-morrow's election a more respectable body of men possessed of some real authority were to seek for our aid to offer their submission to the Versailles Government, it would be worth considering if such aid should not be afforded.

But at present it does not appear to be wise to direct Mr. Malet to act as negotiator between M. Thiers, who refuses to recognise him as such, and the Communists at the Hôtel de Ville, who only hold their place there till they are ejected by other Communists.

I am also commanded to repeat that the Queen is very strongly opposed to our being in any way connected with the persons who are ruling in Paris. Yours truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Granville to Colonel Ponsonby.

WALMER CASTLE, 16*th April* 1871.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I will not trouble the Queen with any further argument on the subject of the suspended instructions to Malet. There is no doubt much weight in what her Majesty says, although it would not be honest in me to say that I was convinced.

The question, however, now has fallen, as M. Thiers has said publicly what he wished Malet to convey privately. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Mr. Bruce to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 17*th April* 1871.—Mr. Bruce presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to inform your Majesty that the so-called Republican Demonstration in Hyde Park yesterday[1] was utterly insignificant both with regard to the numbers and the character of those who took part in it. The numbers, which the promoters have announced to amount to 100,000, never exceeded between 5[00] and 600; and these were of the lowest order. None of the prominent leaders of the working men, such as Odger, Bradlaugh, etc., attended the meeting. The failure was in fact complete. A certain amount of political excitement and extravagance—the *contre-coup* of the proceedings at Paris—must always be expected when France is undergoing a Revolution; but your Majesty's loyal subjects, while they regret such exhibitions as that of yesterday, cannot but find encouragement in the comparison between the present feeble display of republican feeling with the far more formidable outbreak of revolutionary fervour in 1789, 1830, and 1848. The meeting separated without disorder.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 21*st April* 1871.— . . . It is very difficult [to know] how to deal with Lord Augustus [Loftus]. Ever since Lord Granville knew that both the Princess Royal and Prince Bismarck thought that Lord Augustus' removal was desirable, he has been thinking how best to do it. Lord Augustus is terribly pompous and tiresome. He was at the F.O. on Wednesday, and harangued Lord Granville for an hour without the latter being able to get in a word. The Austrians were much alarmed at the rumour that he was going there. But Lord Bloomfield shows no signs of resigning.

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[1] A Sunday Republican demonstration to express sympathy with the Paris Communists.

Lord Granville would not like to ask for Count Bernstorff being recalled, although he should not regret its happening; they have been on friendly terms, and he is an honourable man, although awkward and huffy, and afraid of not coming up to what Prince Bismarck requires of him, and of not being thought sufficiently zealous.

Lord Augustus has two months' leave, which gives time for a little reflection, and Lord Granville will have the honour of writing again to your Majesty on the subject.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 23*rd April* 1871.—With respect to the Budget, it is difficult not to feel considerable doubt as to the wisdom of the proposed tax on matches, which is a direct tax and will be at once felt by all classes, to whom matches have become a necessity of life. Their greatly increased price will in all probability make no difference in the consumption by the rich; but the poorer *classes* will be *constantly* irritated by this increased expense and reminded of the tax by the Government stamp on the box.

Above all it seems *certain* that the tax will seriously affect the manufacture and sale of matches, which is said to be the sole means of support of a vast number of the very poorest people and little children, especially in London, so that this tax, which it is intended should press on all equally, will in fact be only severely felt by the poor, which would be very wrong and most impolitic at the present moment.

The Queen trusts that the Government will reconsider this proposal and try and substitute some other which will not press upon the poor.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 25*th April* 1871.—Dear Alice's twenty-seventh birthday. May God long bless and protect her! There has been a great bother about the Budget, which has come on quite unexpectedly. The increase of the Army, but above all the abolition of Purchase, has necessitated an increase in taxation. Two of the proposed taxes, one on lucifer matches, which would have thrown thousands of the very poorest (including many little children) out of employment, and the one on succession,[1] have raised a fearful storm. A procession of thousands of poor match-makers proceeded yesterday to the House of Parliament, and it was immediately given up. I had written strongly on the subject.

1*st May*.—A splendid morning. Dear Arthur's twenty-first birthday. He was serenaded by the band of the 99th. My thoughts were with my dearest Albert, who had been so delighted at the birth of our little third boy on the dear old Duke of Wellington's birthday. And my warmest prayers were offered up that this dear good boy might continue as good, pure, unspoilt, and amiable, now that he [is] his own master, as he has been hitherto. How I trust and hope he may realise all these wishes for him! Gave dear Arthur a nosegay of lilies of the valley and took him into his father's room, where his presents were spread out.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

16 BRUTON STREET, 14*th May* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Lord Granville thinks that the Russian Princess would be a more desirable marriage for the Duke of Edinburgh than an English subject, a Catholic Princess, or a daughter of the King of Hanover. But before offering any advice to your Majesty, he would be glad of your Majesty's permission to consult Mr. Gladstone, who is very anti-Russian, and who is probably a better judge than Lord Granville of how far the religious objection to the Greek Church would be felt in this country. . . .

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[1] Both taxes were given up by the Government; and twopence extra was placed on the Income Tax.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Balmoral, 27*th May* 1871.—A dull morning. Out with Beatrice. Most dreadful news from Paris. The wretched Archbishop, another Bishop, a Curé, and sixty-four other prisoners have been shot by these horrid Communists, before the prison could be taken. Endless reprisals.[1] After luncheon Affie came up to my room and I talked to him about his future plans. He was very sensible, being quite willing to go to Germany and take more part in the affairs of Coburg, if his uncle[2] will let him, and spending part of the year there. He would not give up his profession.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Balmoral Castle, 3*rd June* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and submits the following as a possible addition to an ordinary letter to the Empress.[3]

"Lord Granville is here, and I am glad to find how sincerely anxious he continues to be to maintain and strengthen the good relations of the two countries. He is fully aware that for this purpose it is desirable to have a person, as my representative at Berlin, who has judgment and discretion. There are considerable difficulties in the way of appointing Mr. Odo Russell, but Lord Granville has a very high opinion of him, and believes that, from the great kindness he received at Versailles, he would be acceptable at Berlin.

"I agree in Lord Granville's opinion of Mr. Russell's qualifications, and I would not only sanction, but I would encourage him to make the proposal, if I were sure that it would be agreeable to you and the Emperor. Pray consider this as perfectly confidential, for, if the change is to be made, it will require some management."

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[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] The Duke of Coburg, whose heir the Duke of Edinburgh was.

[3] The German Empress.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *5th–6th June* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the House of Commons has spent this evening in Committee on the Army Bill. The proceedings in opposition to the Bill, it would be idle to disguise, have been those of sheer obstruction; the principle of the Bill has been debated and re-debated on every amendment in Committee; and Mr. Gladstone, who, during his whole Parliamentary life, has been accustomed to see class interests of all kinds put themselves on their defence under the supposition of being assailed, has never, he regrets to state, seen a case where the modes of operation adopted by the professing champions were calculated to leave such a painful impression on the mind. . . .

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 13*th June* 1871.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,— . . . The Queen commands me to assure you that she is glad the Cabinet agree in their views respecting the question of Purchase. The necessity of abolishing the system has been affirmed by very large majorities in the House of Commons, and the objections raised now seem to be merely a matter of detail.

Earl Granville to the German Crown Princess.

[*Copy.*]
Private. F.O., 14*th June* 1871.

MADAM,—I have had the honour of receiving your Royal Highness' telegram of to-day,[1] and I gladly avail myself of an opportunity of writing a few lines to your Royal Highness.

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[1] The Crown Princess had telegraphed to Lord Granville asking whether it would be possible for Lord Augustus Loftus, British Ambassador at Berlin, at the time on leave at Baden, to be present in Berlin on 15th June on the occasion of the inauguration there of the statue of Frederick William III.

There is a series of circulars to our Ambassadors abroad, regulating their conduct when this country has been a neutral during the time of an European war, on the occasion of rejoicings at the victories which have been obtained.

I am afraid if our Ambassador was at Berlin at a moment when German enthusiasm must, as at the present moment, be raised to the highest point after the glorious and extraordinary achievements of the last year, the observance by him of the rules, which have been laid down and acted upon on former occasions, would create some comment and disappointment among those who were not aware of our rules. Lord A. Loftus having taken two months' leave, it is perfectly natural he should not be at his post. The Embassy will be illuminated, and I have received the Queen's permission to write a letter instructing Mr. Petre to congratulate the Emperor warmly in her Majesty's name on the inauguration of the statue of Frederick William the Third.

I look forward with sincere delight to the prospect of having soon an opportunity of saying to your Royal Highness all I feel with respect to your Royal Highness and the Imperial Prince. I have the honour, etc.—GRANVILLE.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 16*th June* 1871.—The Queen has telegraphed to Lord Granville her regret at Lord A. Loftus not being present to-day, though it might have been difficult.

In this case as well as the other respecting Lord Lyons' question, the Queen would have expected and wished to have the answer first submitted to her, and trusts that for the future this will not be neglected; for she has had occasion to remark on this twice lately. A cyphered telegram would have done this at once, and when letters like Lord Lyons' are sent to the Queen, the proper answer should be sent with them.

The Queen approves highly of the proposed diplomatic appointments.[1] . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 18*th June* 1871.—I have certainly given you discretionary powers for emergencies, but wish for short cypher of your proposed action.[2]

I did not object to your message to Lord Lyons, but to not being informed. Twice previously my objections proved right. One should be careful. I only regretted Lord A. Loftus' absence, which may have been difficult to avoid.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

25*th June* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone spoke to me on the subject of Ireland this afternoon, and on the wish expressed again and again that there should be a Royal residence there, and said that a *motion* on the subject was about to be brought on, to which an answer must be given. We went over the old ground, the pretensions of the Irish to have more done for them than the Welsh or English; the visits to Scotland being in *no one way political* or connected with the wishes of the people, but *merely* because the climate and scenery are so healthy and beautiful, and the people so charming, so loyal, and the residence there of the greatest possible advantage (to mind and body) to our family, myself, and *everyone* connected with me and my Household. That, therefore, to press and urge this was unreasonable.

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[1] Sir A. Buchanan to Vienna, in place of Lord Bloomfield, who had placed his resignation in Lord Granville's hands; Mr. Odo Russell to Berlin; and Lord A. Loftus to St. Petersburg.

[2] Lord Granville had defended himself by saying that he "always understood that your Majesty granted him a certain discretion in matters of urgency" and explaining how the urgency arose.

To have a residence in Ireland, and *not* go there, would be *worse*, and that *occasional* visits would be better, and that they must depend on the state of the country.

Mr. Gladstone contended how important it was in *these days* to connect the *Royal family* with *public functions* and *offices*, and that it would be very important to do this *in Ireland.* I contended that it would be wasting time in *spending* this *in Ireland*, when Scotland and England deserved it much more. Mr. Gladstone, however, thought it would be *a great* advantage, and mentioned Lord Spencer and Lord Bessborough as being strongly of opinion *what* good it would do, if *someone* of the family were *frequently* to go there for a short time.

If there was to be a residence it would entail someone of the family going there for a short while *every year.* I pointed out the great difficulty of this—the sacrifice and tax it would be to anyone, considering their various other duties, and residences, etc. . . .

I then observed that it struck me that, *if* such an idea were entertained, the notion which had been entertained by several people of making a Royal Prince Lord-Lieutenant would be *far* the *best.* Mr. Gladstone said he thought I was right, and that this *was* the *better* and easier plan of *the two.* Of course a Royal Prince could not be responsible, and the *Secretary of Ireland* must be made an *important responsible Minister.* But that to have a non-political Lord-Lieutenant would be far better, and that it certainly would be far easier to do this than to have a mere occasional residence there *without any* ostensible *object.* Arthur I thought particularly suited for this ; only he could not be banished there for ever, as I should want him to be with me. Five or six months in the course of the year would be quite enough, Mr. Gladstone said, and that all that could easily be managed. I added that I did not know, however, how this might do with Arthur's career as a soldier, and probably could not be for long, and that at any rate I must speak to Colonel Elphinstone before I could say anything more on the subject.

We then talked over the possibility of the Prince of Wales doing this, though I doubted the wisdom of identifying the future King with Ireland, and depriving him of his own home, and of going to Scotland, both of which were important for his health, Ireland being a bad climate. In this case, Mr. Gladstone said, three or four months would be quite enough. If it could take him more away from the London season I said it would be a good thing, but not if it took him away from the country, and from Scotland, where I saw most of him. It *would* take him away more from London, Mr. Gladstone said, and he thinks it would give him something to do. . . .

I said I must think it well over before I could make up my mind as to the best course to pursue. Mr. Gladstone thanked me very much, and said he would await my answer, but wished it to be kept very secret.—V. R.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28*th June* 1871.—My Coronation Day. Nemours,[1] with Marguerite, Blanche, and Alençon came to luncheon, as well as Lenchen. Afterwards took Nemours into the Audience Room, and had a long, interesting conversation with him on their present position, which as he himself said was "très singulière." That the future, as everyone feels, was most uncertain. That Aumale having property *not inherited* from his father (all of which had been most unwisely and I think wrongly confiscated by the Emperor Napoleon), but from the Duc de Bourbon, the Condé property, Chantilly, and Randau in Auvergne from their Aunt Mme Adélaïde, he went to live in France with his son and the Princesse de Salerne, inviting any of the rest of the family he liked to stay with him. The latter two properties he had been forced to sell, but only fictitiously. Aumale had for the present taken no part in public affairs. Almost directly after the law of exile had been repealed, Nemours had written to me saying that, without renewed permission, he felt he had no right to remain on at Bushy, although he should still like to do so. I replied I did not require the house, and hoped he would remain as long as he liked. That it would be very unwise, considering the terrible uncertainty of things in France, where there had been four Revolutions (including this last of the Commune) in forty years, if all the members of the family did not keep some *pied à terre* in England.

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[1] The Duc de Nemours and the Duc d'Aumale were sons, and the Comte de Paris was the grandson and heir, of King Louis Philippe.

Nemours was most grateful, and agreed in what I said. Paris, Robert, and Aumale have also written, taking leave, and expressing their unbounded gratitude for all my kindness, and for all the hospitality they had met with during these twenty-three years, hoping to return to England frequently. Nemours said he was certain they would on no account part with the property they had here, as it would not be prudent to do so. With regard to the fusion, they had themselves declared, that they would not stand in any dynastic opposition to the elder branch of the Bourbons, should the choice fall on the Comte de Chambord. Though they had declared this, they could only really support a Constitutional Monarchy. Paris was going to Paris for a few days and then to Frohsdorf (which was still a secret).[1] They intended to be quite passive and await events. As for himself, Nemours said he had never been in France, according to reports, though he would have been ready to serve his country. Now he intended shortly to go to Paris for a few days, and to call on Thiers, which he considered his duty, but not to remain in France. Nor would he live in France, unless he got his just rights, was shown justice to, and had his property restored. Should Eu be returned to him, he would establish himself there. All this I think does credit to them.

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[1] The famous visit to Frohsdorf was not made till two years later. See below, p. 234.

Nemours, in talking of the war, considered it foolish and on the whole unjustifiable, though he did not like to blame the Emperor for his want of judgment, as he was the greatest sufferer. He spoke of the want of preparation and how ill all had been considered. The horrors in Paris were like those of '93, and France was in a condition in which "aucun autre pays ne s'est jamais trouvé." He could not see how she could come out of it, and how she could pay. I said I hoped France would try and consolidate herself, turning all her energies to the restoration of the whole country, and not attempt again to ride away on glory and conquest, which had been her great misfortune. He said for long to come she could assuredly do nothing, but that the wound was very deep, though it might heal. That Prussia and Italy had both made conquests, and that the loss of the two provinces was very cruel, that the Germans had shown greater barbarity and cruelty than the first Napoleon ever did, in burning villages and shooting people who merely defended themselves. This I think is greatly exaggerated. The conversation lasted fully an hour, and Nemours said I was "une excellente et fidèle amie," which I own I always am, and have been, being much attached to the family. For twenty-three years my lips had been to a great extent sealed, and it seemed extraordinary to me to be able to talk over all again quite openly now!

3rd July.—Bertie remained for the Investiture. After '61 I could hardly bear the thought of anyone helping me and standing where my dearest one had always stood, but as years go on I strongly feel that to lift up my son and heir and keep him in his place near me, is only what is right. Bertie offered that I should use his sword instead of the Equerry's, which I did.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*]

6th July 1871.—The Queen wishes to draw Mr. Gladstone's attention to a subject which of late has caused her some anxiety. It is in connection with the Army Regulation Bill, now before Parliament, and with the various plans for Army organisation which may hereafter be submitted.

The Queen fears that the discussions which have taken place have, perhaps unavoidably, given rise to strong political feeling among officers of the Army, and she trusts that Mr. Gladstone will agree with her in the necessity of doing nothing to increase it.

The principal object which the Queen has in writing is to express her earnest hope that the Government will bear in mind the entirely non-political position of the Commander-in-Chief. The Queen thinks that few more serious evils could arise to her as Sovereign, to the Army, and to the country, than would arise from the fact of the office of Commander-in-Chief, or indeed of any other officer holding a high military command, being considered in any way political.

The Queen makes these remarks with reference to the line the Duke of Cambridge[1] may be expected to take in the debates which will occur. That the Duke will honourably and cordially assist the Government in carrying out any regulation which may be enacted, the Queen cannot for an instant doubt, but she strongly deprecates any course of conduct being expected from him which will place him in open antagonism to the Opposition, and thus render his position nearly untenable, in case a change of Government should take place before the different plans connected with Army organisation have been finally disposed of. The Army, as a body, has, up to this time, in periods of great political excitement continued very free from political bias, and the Queen believes no one has contributed more to this condition than the Duke of Cambridge, by his rigid abstention from politics in the House of Lords, and out of it. Though matters of Army regulation may not properly be considered as political, it is plain that the present military propositions of the Government are taken up as party questions, and any strong support of them, by officers holding the highest military commands, will be looked upon as political support of the Administration.

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[1] The Duke had written earlier in the day to the Queen, suggesting "that it would be a great assistance to me in maintaining the neutral position I have always tried to keep as Commander-in-Chief of your Army, if you would strongly impress upon Mr. Gladstone the absolute necessity of not pressing me on the matter of support in the House of Lords, when the Army Regulation Bill comes up for discussion in that House."

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *8th July* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that he read to the Cabinet this day the letter which he had the honour to receive from your Majesty yesterday, in relation to the part which his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge may take on the Army Regulation Bill in the House of Lords. . . .

Mr. Gladstone would be sorry to ask of your Majesty that there should be a hasty departure from precedent. But he believes that according to precedent the Commander-in-Chief, when a Peer, has not shrunk from giving his opinion on measures submitted to the House of Lords. In 1847, the Government of that day introduced the Short Service Bill, of which, on the merits, it is believed that the Duke of Wellington, then Commander-in-Chief, did not approve. Indeed he expressed in debate on 26th April 1847 his doubts whether the measure would produce the advantages [which] were anticipated from it; nevertheless, while having no political connection with the Government, he spoke, and voted in a division, for the Bill. Indeed it is probable, as the numbers were only 108 to 94, that his speech and vote alone carried the Bill.

Your Majesty will not fail to bear in mind that, until 1855, there was always a very high military authority who was in political connection with the Government, namely, the Master of the Ordnance. Indeed, unless Mr. Gladstone's recollection deceives him, Lord Beresford was required by the Duke of Wellington in 1829, as Master of the Ordnance, to support the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. And it is still regretted by many that Ministries have not, since, comprehended any such officer. All question, however, as to the political support of a Ministry by the military chiefs of the Army is now at an end.

Perhaps Mr. Gladstone may be warranted in representing to your Majesty the efforts which the Government has made to meet your Majesty's desires, and to avert any undue shock to the existing system. It is their fixed belief, that these efforts could not have been further extended without much risk. The Commander-in-Chief has been exempted from the rule of the five years' tenure; and the principle has been steadily maintained that, while the Secretary of State remains responsible, still the ordinary exercise of the patronage, as well as the discipline, of the Army shall be vested in his hands. But it would have been impossible to procure the acquiescence of Parliament in these arrangements, unless they had been accompanied with the declaration of Mr. Cardwell, made in the name of the Cabinet, and seen and approved by your Majesty, that "it is of course necessary for the Commander-in-Chief to be in harmony with the Government of the day": and with a similar declaration of Mr. Gladstone on 23rd March, also reported to and approved by your Majesty, that, while all political action properly so-called was entirely free, yet the military plans and measures of the Government must always have the energetic co-operation of the military chiefs of the Army.

In the present instance of the abolition of Purchase, it may be remembered that recourse has been had to the Legislature for the sake of the officers, but that the question, depending as it does only upon the prerogative and the power of voting money, rests exclusively, for all practical purposes, with the Crown and the House of Commons. But if the Bill were to be thrown out in the House of Lords, much to the prejudice of the officers of the Army, while the abolition of Purchase need not thereby be prevented, yet, if the Commander-in-Chief had withheld his support from the Bill, there is little doubt that its rejection would be followed by an immediate movement in the House of Commons against his Royal Highness ; nor can your Majesty's advisers undertake to answer for the consequences. Nor can they think that the dignity of his Royal Highness as a Peer, and as a Prince, could be promoted by his now departing from his accustomed and salutary practice of advising the House on military questions.

Your Majesty, however, will clearly understand that what is asked from the Commander-in-Chief is not that he shall become in any way responsible for the original advice given to your Majesty respecting the abolition of Purchase. It is simply this : that, recognising as facts the action of the executive Government, and of the House of Commons, he should in the actual situation of affairs urge upon the House of Lords that by at once concurring in the Bill they should secure the accomplishment of the abolition in such a *mode* as will at once put an end to uncertainty, in such a case most detrimental, and secure for the interests of those concerned the favourable treatment which may otherwise be put to serious hazard.

At the same time the Government are persuaded it is requisite that the support to be given to the Bill, as on the one side it may be free with respect to the question of Purchase in the abstract, so, on the other side, should be unequivocal and decided. For it is, in the mind of the Government, clear that the influence of officers connected with the Horse Guards has been used adversely to the measure: and that public opinion even ascribes a similar use of influence, by the expression of unfavourable sentiments, to his Royal Highness. Doubtless this opinion is erroneous; but it is much to be desired that the effects produced by it should be removed. And generally Mr. Gladstone is persuaded that, in the arrangement made on 5th June with his Royal Highness, the course was taken which was most likely to promote alike your Majesty's comfort and satisfaction, the influence and usefulness of the Commander-in-Chief, and the advantage of the Army as well as the nation. . . .

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

HORSE GUARDS, 12*th July* 1871.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—I have had a long interview with Mr. Gladstone this morning, and I also saw Mr. Cardwell yesterday on the same subject, the debate on the Army Regulation Bill to-morrow evening in the House of Lords. I regret extremely to say, that neither Mr. Gladstone nor Mr. Cardwell seemed at all disposed to go off from the position they have taken up requiring my recommendation to the House to adopt the Bill, and also expecting my vote. Mr. Gladstone added, that he considered the responsibility of the acceptance or rejection of the measure by the House of Lords would rest in a great measure on my shoulders; and if the Bill were rejected by the House without my having voted or spoken in its favour, that is to say, without my recommending the House to adopt it, the result would have very grave consequences to myself and to the Army; for, as he expressed himself, the ground would be cut away from under his feet, for that he could not then defend me against the attacks of his more advanced followers, and that not only would he be compelled to abandon me, but also he feared the office of Commander-in-Chief would go with me, as there was a large section of the House of Commons who thought it well that such abolition should take place.

I grieve to be obliged to give you this information, but as I cannot see my way to acting differently from what I have proposed to do, which is to say as much as I can in favour of the Bill, whilst adhering to my neutral position, and declining either to recommend the adoption of the measure, or to vote upon it, I feel that I am in duty bound to lay the exact position of the case before you. The interests of the Crown are deeply involved. They must not suffer from any false step on my part. I place the matter in your hands, deeply pained at placing you in so difficult a position, not of my seeking certainly, but caused by the circumstances of the case. If you think the interests of the Crown are so involved, that you consider it right to put your commands upon me to act differently from what I propose to do, I must obey; but in that case I should be compelled to let it be known, under what circumstances I have so entirely altered the position I have hitherto taken up of complete neutrality and abstention from politica action, which, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's assurance to the contrary, I consider I shall have departed from. I should certainly not think of compromising you in any way, but it would have to be known that you wished me to accede to the Government views. Otherwise I should stand before the world as a man devoid of right and proper feeling and advocating a certain course for the mere object of retaining my present high and honourable position.

To-morrow the debate takes place, and if I could do so I intended to say what I had to say early. . . If there is no time to write, perhaps you would graciously communicate your orders to me by telegraph. . . . With every feeling of devotion and loyalty I beg to remain, my dear Cousin, your most dutiful Cousin, GEORGE.

Colonel Ponsonby to Sir Thomas Biddulph.[1]

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

11 a.m., Osborne, 13*th July* 1871.—The Queen earnestly hopes that the Duke will find himself able to declare the opinion, which, Mr. Gladstone states, he entertains, that as matters now stand the Bill ought to pass.

But, although she wishes the Government to be supported, the Queen will not press him to act against his feelings.

11.30.—Mr. Gladstone does not insist upon the vote, only for a declaration that the Bill ought to pass.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

8.40, Friday Evening, 14*th July* 1871.—The Duke of Cambridge made a very able speech, skilful as to his own position, and fair towards the Government.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 18*th July* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet met at four o'clock this day to consider the situation brought about by the vote of the House of Lords last night on the Army Bill.[2] After the Cabinet had arrived at its principal resolution, he telegraphed to your Majesty as follows:

"The Cabinet advise the abolition of the Warrant which authorises payments for Commissions. They would then proceed to take all the means in their power for securing to the officers both regulation and over-regulation prices. I write by post, and as Lord Halifax goes to Osborne to-morrow he will be able to give further explanations if required by your Majesty."

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[1] Who was in London.

[2] See Introductory Note.

The mode of procedure which the Cabinet propose to adopt is as follows. First, with your Majesty's gracious approval, to cancel the Warrant forthwith. Next, on Thursday Mr. Gladstone will answer a question which is to be put by Sir George Grey to the effect that a new Warrant will be issued at once; that by this act the state of circumstances in which the House of Lords came to the resolution of Monday is entirely altered; that we trust their lordships may hereupon think proper to proceed to pass the second reading of the Bill, and to consider it in committee; that we shall wait to see what course they may take; and that under all circumstances we shall use the best means in our power to obtain just and liberal terms for the officers of the Army.

The views of the Cabinet are matured beyond the terms of this answer: but they think it desirable to say nothing which could be construed either as a menace or as a bribe to the House of Lords, and to leave them in the position in which it will be easiest for them to pass the Bill, since this is the method of proceeding best for the interests of all concerned.

But what they propose to themselves, should the Lords refuse to pass the Bill, is to propose a Vote for regulation prices with a Bill for over-regulation prices: or, if it should be found easier and simpler, to cover the illegality of over-regulation by an act of indemnity and then to propose a Vote including both purposes.

The Government have been led to these conclusions by the belief that the course thus marked out is upon the whole the most constitutional, the most certain, the most likely to contribute to despatch, and the best, if not the only, one for securing to the officers of the Army the full benefit of the terms proposed for them.

Your Majesty will observe from this detail that it is of great importance to proceed with promptitude, and Mr. Gladstone trusts your Majesty may see nothing requiring delay in the new draft Warrant which the War Minister will submit.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 19*th July* 1871.—A fine, but intensely hot morning. We all breakfasted together in the tent. Saw Colonel Ponsonby about a letter I received from Mr. Gladstone, relative to the course to be pursued, which I annex, as it explains the rather violent course the Government feel it necessary to pursue. Later, Sir T. Biddulph telegraphed rather anxiously on the subject. After luncheon, resting and writing, and then saw Lord Halifax, who further explained the Government's intentions, assuring me that the procedure would not be unconstitutional, and that I could, at any time, by Warrant, cancel another Warrant. The House of Lords would no doubt be much annoyed, but the House of Commons would approve. I rather hesitated, fearing it might be a dangerous course to pursue, and place me in an awkward position. But Lord Halifax was positive it would not and could not, though of course it would have been preferable not to have to take this course. [After dinner] Lord Halifax again spoke most kindly and anxiously about George's position, that it was a very difficult matter to settle between him, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell, which I quite understand. When I went up to my room the Warrant arrived, which I signed.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 20*th July* 1871.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He wrote this morning to the Duke of Richmond asking him to be present, as he wished to make a statement to the Lords. Lord Granville did this, and endeavoured to do so without exciting any unnecessary irritation. The Duke of Richmond answered with great propriety, expressed his surprise, and postponed observations till after reflection. Lord Salisbury looked pale and angry, but only said a few words. Lord Faversham made a foolish declamatory speech, the greater part of which had been intended for the previous debate.

The Opposition in general looked a little crestfallen, but not very angry.[1]

Most Confidential.—Lord Cairns had a secret conversation with Lord Granville, in which he said that he never felt strongly in favour of the Duke's amendment, but he discussed the best way of making the next step palatable to the Opposition in the Lords. They did not make much progress, as anything which would give the House of Commons a fresh opportunity of discussing the financial clauses might lead to endless difficulties, and be dangerous for the officers.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Cambridge.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 24*th July* 1871.

MY DEAR GEORGE,—Now that the consideration of the Army Bill is postponed for a week, I am desirous to write you a few lines, and I am sure that you understand and appreciate my anxiety to support you in your office, not only personally as my near relation, but from a conviction that the interest of the Crown is so intimately connected with that of the Commander-in-Chief, that any diminution of the authority of the latter is highly injurious to the Crown.

The events which have taken place within these last few days have caused me the greatest anxiety, and I well know your devotion to me, and to the service of the country, will induce you to listen with willingness to any hint or advice I may give on a subject so important to both of us.

I hope what I have said to some of the Ministers may have shown them my determination to keep you free from pressure of a political nature on a future occasion, and that your readiness, which has never been denied, to carry out the plans resolved upon by the Government may prove to them how valuable the assistance is which they derive from your experience, and from the confidence reposed in you by the Army.

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[1] There was, as Mr. Gladstone reported to the Queen, an angry debate in the Commons: "Mr. Disraeli said that what had occurred early in the evening was 'disgraceful to the House of Commons,' and denounced the 'shameful and avowed conspiracy of the Cabinet' against the House of Lords; the latter expression (which, however, appeared to Mr. Gladstone the more allowable of the two) was noticed by the Chairman of Committees and withdrawn."

But what I am most desirous of reminding you of, and your devotion to me will induce you to take my earnest advice in the spirit in which it is given, is to be very careful in conversation, lest opinions which you express may, perhaps in a distorted manner, be quoted by persons who do infinite harm in society by retailing gossip. It is to be remembered that a conversation is hardly ever repeated exactly as it takes place. Party feeling at this moment is unfortunately very bitter. People who feel strongly as to the abolition of Purchase, and who may consider that you have not been fairly treated, are only too ready to catch any expression of yours which may confirm this view, forgetting that by reporting what you may have said, perhaps not at all in the sense in which they apply it, they are doing you great mischief, and are giving a handle to those who wish to affirm that you are not acting cordially with the Government. Let me say also that the caution I would impress upon you should apply also to those of your staff. Pray urge strongly on them to be careful, and to remember that their opinions, as long as they belong to your household, or are employed under you on the staff of the Army, are no longer their own, but are taken more or less as the expression of your feelings.

I will even go a step farther, and that is to ask you to caution your *own* family for the *very* same reasons which I have stated thus frankly and earnestly to you.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 25*th July* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour, with his humble duty, to transmit to your Majesty the Minute of Cabinet respecting the Army Purchase Warrant,[1] to which

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[1] The Queen had requested that such a Minute should be prepared.

he has previously referred. The date affixed is that of the day which followed the advice of the Cabinet, and preceded the receipt of the Warrant with the Sign Manual, and the announcement made to the two Houses of Parliament.

Army Purchase Warrant—Minute of Cabinet.

Wednesday, 19*th July* 1871.

In 1870 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the extent of the system of over-regulation prices, the incidents of that system and the degree of recognition it had received. The two main conclusions of the report were: First, that "there has been a tacit acquiescence in the practice, amounting, in our opinion, to a virtual recognition of it by civil and military departments and authorities"; and secondly, that "not the least important incident of the practice is the habitual violation of the law by officers of all ranks under that of Major-General, supported by long-established custom, and unchecked by any authority."

Your Majesty's Servants being in possession of that report felt bound to deal with the question, and had to consider the manner in which it should be dealt with. They asked themselves, could they venture to render over-regulation prices legal? That course they consider to be impossible.

Could they determine for the future deliberately to connive at the illegal practice? Sir G. Grey, Chairman of the Royal Commission, speaking on the 30th June, said: "With regard to the future, it was the bounden duty of the Government to declare in the most explicit manner that they would no more be parties to this violation of the law, and that they should take every means in their power to stop the practice."

It is no light matter for those at the head of the Government of the country to connive deliberately at the violation of an Act of Parliament passed for the regulation of service in the Army.

The last and only other alternative was to put an end to the practice, and at the same time to condone past violations of the law; and that is the course which has been recommended to Parliament.

It may be suggested that for this purpose it was not necessary to abolish the Purchase system, but that over-regulation prices might have been prevented, and the system of Purchase for regulation prices left untouched. The answer is that the experience of two centuries has proved it to be impossible. The Royal Commissioners say on that point: "Where one man has something of value to sell which can legally be sold, and another man is desirous of purchasing it, the opportunity being afforded them of coming to a mutual understanding, it has been found useless to prescribe by law or regulation the precise terms on which the sale is to be effected."

It was not necessary to come to Parliament to abolish the Purchase system. By the Act of 1809, Purchase became penal, except so far as "fixed regulations made, or to be made, by the Crown." Therefore, for the purpose of abolishing Purchase, nothing more was required than that the Crown should be advised to cancel the existing regulations, and all purchases of commissions would at once become illegal.

An Act of Parliament is not necessary for the purpose of securing to the officers repayment of the regulation prices. A vote of the House of Commons is sufficient for that purpose.

The reasons why your Majesty's Servants thought it desirable to apply to the Legislature in relation to the abolition of Purchase were these: It was advisable, in their opinion, in a matter of such importance to give a statutory guarantee to the officers who would be affected by the proposed change. It is advisable also to protect officers from prosecution for the illegal acts which had been committed by them up to the present time, and it was expedient to terminate Purchase for ever, which required an amendment of the Act of 1809. But the main reason was to enable a pecuniary indemnity to be given to officers for over-regulation payments. Those payments, however sanctioned by custom, were illegal acts, and your Majesty's Servants thought it necessary to obtain, for the indemnity, the sanction of the same authority which created the illegality, that is, the sanction of the whole Legislature.

Under these circumstances your Majesty's Servants first obtained in the most formal manner, that is to say by Bill, the sanction of the House of Commons to the great expenditure involved in the abolition of Purchase, and then sent the Bill to the House of Lords. By that House it was met, not by rejection, but by a dilatory motion ; and that motion was carefully drawn so as not to imply any disapproval of the abolition of Purchase. By this motion the Bill was not defeated but delayed, and it became necessary for your Majesty's Servants to consider by what course they could at once put an end to the violation of the law, secure the interests of the officers, maintain the discipline of the Army which might be imperilled by the indefinite continuance of a state of uncertainty, and avoid as far as possible the risk of collision between the two Houses of the Legislature.

It appeared to them that the best course was to put an end to Purchase, by cancelling the Royal Warrants which have excepted regulation prices from the operation of the Statute of 1809, and to move the further progress of the Bill, under the altered circumstances, in the House of Lords : and on these grounds they have advised your Majesty accordingly.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 31*st* *July* 1871.—A very fine day. Breakfast in the tent. Afterwards met good Fritz and talked with him of the war. He is so fair, kind, and good and has the intensest horror of Bismarck, says he is no doubt energetic and clever, but bad, unprincipled, and *all-powerful*; he is in fact the Emperor, which Fritz's father does not like, but still cannot help; as for the Treaty which Bismarck published, said to be proposed by Benedetti, Fritz thinks it was quite as much Bismarck's as the Emperor Napoleon's doing. That he felt they were living on a volcano, and that he should not be surprised if Bismarck some day tried to make war on England. This corroborates and justifies what many people here have said.

The Marquis of Lorne to Queen Victoria.

VICE-REGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *5th August* 1871.

MADAM AND DEAR MAMA,—Louise has to-day gone to a picnic with the Prince of Wales, Arthur, Lord and Lady Spencer, and a party from the Chief Secretary's, and a number of people from Dublin; and as I have a great deal of writing to do, and some acquaintances to see, I have remained here and taken the only chance we have had to do an hour or two's work. Yesterday Louise had no time at all to herself, for directly after breakfast we had the Review—till near two o'clock, then changing dress for lunch, which was to have been at Lord Sandhurst's at 2.30, and did not really take place till 4 o'clock, then a visit to "The Queen's Institute," where girls are taught painting and how to work telegraphs so that they may afterwards be employed in the Government offices—then to a china shop where some Belleek purchases were made, then home at 7, and dinner at Lord Hartington's at 7.30. After this, home for ten minutes, and then a ball at the Exhibition Building till two or three in the morning!

The week has been full of work of this kind, and if it went on much longer few of us would get back alive to England. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, who rejoices in possessing my name, has been the most entertaining of our entertainers, and even more enthusiastic than anyone else. His ball at the Mansion House was a dreadful infliction, for there were over 2,000 people crowded into a round room with very little ventilation, but he was in great spirits and said the most wonderful things. He is not the Mayor who came to Windsor lately. That poor man died soon after he had presented the Address on our marriage, and the present one has only filled the place a short time, and does not seem to know many of those he has had to meet this week. At the Agricultural Dinner I was sitting next to him and was amused by his exclamations when he was told who people were—" Well, Markiss, will ye tell me who's that young man ? " " Oh, that's Lord Waterford; you should know him." " Eigh, that's the Markiss, is it ? " And then looking at Hamilton, " Who's that pale young man ? " " That's Lord Hamilton, you should know him—son of the Duke of Abercorn." " Eigh, that's the Markiss ! " And, finally, Hartington got up to make a speech, and the Mayor repeated " And who's *that* ? " ; and again I told him, and again came the " Eigh, *that's* that Markiss, is it ? "

The reception given us by the people this time is worth noting particularly, because the so-called " National " papers had done all they could to prevent any loyalty being shown, and were most spiteful in their articles.

All who speak to me about the visit say that such opportunities thus given for the expression of the feeling of the people in Dublin are of the greatest service, and are most anxious that yearly visits should be paid, if it be not possible for any of the family to live permanently in the country.

The cheers for " Prince Pat "[1] are incessant, and wherever he has been he has received ovations. He quite deserves all the popularity he can get, and seems so anxious to do all that is good and right.

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[1] Prince Arthur, now Duke of Connaught, one of whose names is Patrick.

It will be a great delight to see your dear face at Osborne again so soon, and I am, ever your most dutiful and loving son, LORNE.

Memorandum: Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

8th Aug. 1871.—The Rev. Mr. Church, who has preached at Windsor, is humbly recommended to your Majesty by Mr. Gladstone, to be Dean of St. Paul's in succession to Dr. Mansel lately deceased. In point of age, culture, temper, character, and attainments, Mr. Church is, as Mr. Gladstone believes, eminently qualified for the office.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *22nd Aug.* 1871.—Had a good night. Feeling better. Never since a girl, when I had typhoid fever at Ramsgate in '35, have I felt so ill. Got up late, and took a short drive. Able to take a little luncheon. Remained quietly in my room.

3rd Sept.—Another Sunday unable to go to the kirk or have service in the house. A very fine day. Had a bad night and got up quite late. Sat in the tent. Slept a little after my luncheon, then saw Dr. Marshall, who examined my poor arm and begged I should let some other surgeon, for instance Professor Lister,[1] see it, as he felt the responsibility too great. I rather demurred, but said I would think the matter over. Finally I consented to Professor Lister being telegraphed for. Went a little in the garden chair, after five, Beatrice walking.

4th Sept.—In the afternoon took a little turn in the garden chair. It was so fine. On coming in heard Mr. Lister had arrived. Sir William Jenner explained everything about my arm to him, but he naturally said he could do nothing or give any opinion till he had made an examination. I had to wait nearly half an hour before Mr. Lister and Dr. Marshall appeared! In a few minutes he had ascertained all and went out again with the others. Sir William Jenner returned saying Mr. Lister thought the swelling ought to be cut; he could wait twenty-four hours, but it would be better not. I felt dreadfully nervous, as I bear pain so badly. I shall be given chloroform, but not very much, as I am so far from well otherwise, so I begged the part might be frozen, which was agreed on. Everything was got ready and the three doctors came in. Sir William Jenner gave me some whiffs of chloroform, whilst Mr. Lister froze the place, Dr. Marshall holding my arm. The abscess, which was six inches in diameter, was very quickly cut and I hardly felt anything excepting the last touch, when I was given a little more chloroform. In an instant there was relief. I was then tightly bandaged, and rested on my bed. Quite late saw Beatrice and Affie for a moment, after Mr. Lister had been in to see me. Felt very shaken and exhausted.

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[1] The famous surgeon, afterwards Lord Lister.

11*th Sept.*—Thankful and happy to be relieved of my bandages. To-day I have been very miserable from a violent attack of rheumatism or even rheumatic gout, which has settled in my left ankle, completely crippling me and causing me dreadful pain. I am quite disheartened, as this makes almost a *third* illness. Mr. Lister took his leave this morning, and Dr. Marshall dressed the wound and put on the bandage. It made him a little nervous, but he did it very well.

18*th Sept.*—Up by nine after a rather bad night. My foot much swollen, and I could hardly walk a step. The doctors, after looking at it, pronounced it to be severe rheumatic gout, and I was not to walk, indeed I could not. How distressing and disappointing! Was rolled into my sitting-room, where Alice came to see me, much shocked and grieved. Was carried downstairs and took a little drive. The rest of the day I remained in my room. By degrees agonies of pain came on which continued almost without intermission, the foot swelling tremendously. Sir William Jenner tried to encourage me as to its not lasting long. Dear Alice was in and out constantly, and very affectionate and kind, helping my maids in moving me. Was very depressed.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

CAVALRY BRIGADE CAMP, 2ND DIVISION, 18*th September* 1871.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—Many thanks for your two kind letters, and I am so glad to hear that you are feeling so much better—though after so severe an attack it must necessarily be slow. You will doubtless derive great relief also at night when the bandages are removed. I read all the articles in the newspapers you mention, and was sure that you would be gratified by them. If the papers were severe in July and last month, it was merely the anxiety expressed by public opinion at large to see more of you, and to express their feelings of loyalty and attachment to you. The people are really loyal; but it is feared in these Radical days that, if the Sovereign is not more amongst them, and not more seen in London, the loyalty and attachment to the Crown will decrease, which would be naturally much to be deplored; but I feel at the same time that they would not wish you to make such exertions as would be detrimental to your health, but newspapers always have a fashion of expressing their opinions in a very crude way. . . .

The Manœuvres[1] are going on very well, and at present (*unberufen*) we have not had a drop of rain, which is most fortunate, as there are about 30,000 men under canvas, and if it rained it would be dreadful work. The military life agrees very well with me, and I enjoy it very much, though it is rather cold in a tent at night. There have luckily been no casualties, I mean accidents, till to-day. Colonel Marshall had a bad fall, and poor Colonel Ellis too, and he is so stiff that he can hardly move. Several other officers also had falls but were not hurt. The ground the Cavalry have been over has been very uneven and bad, and to-day we crossed heather with bogs, holes, and deep ruts, which was really quite dangerous. You will doubtless receive all the reports with regard to the Manœuvres; but the only remark I have to make is that they resemble too much Aldershot Field Days [rather] than Manœuvres, and this is the feeling throughout the Forces. Uncle George interferes as little as he can—and takes great trouble about everything, but I only wish that the Commanding Officers had a little more liberty. The Transport has answered far better than was expected, but the Auxiliary Transport has proved an utter failure. It is no joke moving troops, camp equipment, stores, food, forage, etc., nearly every day, and it is a perfect wonder to me that everything goes off as well as it does. . . .

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[1] At that time a "novel experiment," in the phrase used by Mr. Cardwell to the Queen.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Balmoral, 20*th Sept.* 1871.—Had a better night as I took the chloral on going to bed. Much tired and rather feverish. Felt ill and low. Remained late in bed, and was lifted and rolled into my sitting-room as yesterday. Terrible difficulty in getting up and being dressed, and I was in great pain. I cannot sufficiently praise the great attention, unremitting zeal, and very kind sympathy of my three maids, who have had a time of it. I shall ever be grateful to them. Though my foot is a little better, I had a very bad day, and could do literally nothing for myself.

28*th Sept.*—Again not a good night, and a good deal of discomfort and pain, which is very disheartening, but my legs and foot are much better. Bright but very windy, and later became showery. Wrote a little and rested on the sofa. Suddenly most violent pain came on in my shoulder, and I was quite unable to move my right hand. Was in despair, as I get no respite at all.

16*th Oct.*—On waking, to my great distress, found both my hands very stiff and my left one very painful. It was well bandaged up and put into a splint. Drove with Alice to Abergeldie and back. A very fine morning. In the afternoon drove with her round Glen Beg. Made an effort to go to the Ball Room, where I was giving a dance to the people, and was carried down at half past nine. It made me very nervous, but still I was glad to please the people. Bertie and Alix arrived directly after I had got into my seat, and all the rest of the family were with me. The ball was very animated, but I suffered all the time from my hand, and could not remain long. I had not seen my four sons together for an immense time, and all grown-up and so different one from the other.

18*th Oct.*—A most dreadful night of agonising pain. No sedative did any good. I only got some sleep between five and eight this morning. Felt much exhausted on awaking, but there was no fever, and the pain was much less. Had my feet and hands bandaged. My utter helplessness is a bitter trial, not even being able to feed myself. Only got up quite late and was rolled into my sitting-room. Did not go out in the morning, but drove in the afternoon with Beatrice and Janie E[ly] in the Balloch Bhui. I was half asleep most of the time. Was unable all day hardly to eat anything. Dictated my Journal to Beatrice, which I have done most days lately.

23*rd Oct.*—My hands much better. Was able to sign, which is a great thing. Went in the small garden chair, Beatrice and Harriet P[hipps] walking. My appetite returning. Drove in the afternoon with Janie E. by the two bridges.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 30*th Oct.* 1871.—The Queen is unable to write a long letter, but she has desired Sir Thomas Biddulph to write fully to Mr. Cardwell on the subjects mentioned in his letters. . . .

With regard to the great change now about to take place the Queen can only express a hope that it may work well and her Army continue to stand as high as it has hitherto done; but she must honestly own to Mr. Cardwell, that she sees with deep regret the destruction of a system which has worked so well for so long, and under which the British Army established its brilliant reputation.

It is very easy to destroy a system, but not so easy to put another equally good one in its place.

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

31*st Oct.* 1871.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty and has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's gracious letter and the communication which by your Majesty's command Sir Thomas Biddulph has addressed to him.

Mr. Cardwell assures your Majesty that it is his confident belief, and he feels sure he may say that of the Cabinet, that the abolition of the system of Purchase could not have been long delayed, that the ample measure of justice, in a pecuniary point of view, which Parliament has now accorded, would have been seriously endangered by delay, and that in the present state of military service a kind of educational pressure is imperatively required which is provided in the present Royal Warrant, but which it was impossible to provide while the Purchase system lasted.

Mr. Cardwell is convinced that by the present measures the efficiency of the Service will be increased, and the direct authority of the Crown over the officers of the Army strengthened. . . .

Queen Victoria to Viscount Halifax.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 1*st Nov.* 1871.—The Queen hears that the Speaker[1] is to resign. Would not that be an excellent opening for Mr. Cardwell? It is all very well saying that the Duke is satisfied. It *never* will work well, and Mr. C. is much disliked by the Army, who know he understands nothing of military matters and is worked upon by others. For the good of the Army and of the Government and country a change is of the utmost importance. Personally the Queen has the greatest regard for Mr. C., but she has never thought him fit for his present post. Lord Hartington is the fittest for this office.

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[1] John Evelyn Denison, created on retirement Viscount Ossington.

As the Queen has no time to write also to Lord Granville, pray show him this.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *6th Nov.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that at its meeting this day the Cabinet authorised Lord Kimberley to give general encouragement to the idea, now more or less prevalent among the authorities and people of the Cape Colony, that a combination might be formed in South Africa, by authority of Parliament, on principles resembling those on which the Dominion of Canada was founded. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, *6th Nov.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and having mentioned in a recent letter what is as yet kept quite secret, namely the intention of the Speaker of the House of Commons to resign the Chair, takes this further opportunity of mentioning that it is not the Speaker's desire nor the design of the Government to ask for any pension, but that Mr. Gladstone wishes with your Majesty's sanction to place at his disposal the offer of a Viscountcy.

Mr. Gladstone has not submitted to the Cabinet the question what course the Government ought to pursue with regard to the choice of a successor to this important office; but he has taken advice sufficiently to warrant his arriving at the conclusion that it would not be wise or allowable to propose any candidate taken from the Treasury Bench ; upon these grounds especially, that it would be most difficult, at any rate at present, to relieve any such person from the suspicion of partiality ; that precedent does not run in this direction ; and that a resort to such a measure, in critical times, would not be without a tendency to lower the dignity of the Chair by giving rise to a suspicion that the disposal of it had been made use of to serve the purposes of the Government.[1] . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

19*th Nov.* 1871.—The Queen has for some days doubted whether she should write to Mr. Gladstone on a subject which has attracted her attention, and which appears to have created considerable sensation in the mind of the public, viz. the speech[2] made last week by Sir C. Dilke at Newcastle.

The Queen is aware that Mr. Gladstone made some allusion to this speech at the Mansion House, and expressed his preference for the institutions under which this country is governed, to a Republic, which Sir C. Dilke prefers ; but, if the Queen understood the meaning of Mr. Gladstone's subsequent remark on the subject, he intimated that the question was one which was open to discussion.

The Queen, after considering with much attention the expediency generally of noticing or leaving alone speeches of a violent character, made by persons of little weight, feels it due to Mr. Gladstone not to conceal from him that, in this case, merely taking into account the attack made on the institutions of the country, and for the moment putting aside the unfounded and unwarrantable statements put forth with regard to herself and the administration of the

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[1] Nevertheless, Mr. Brand, who had been Liberal Whip, was suggested by the Government for Speaker, and elected.

[2] See Introductory Note.

Civil List, she does not feel entirely satisfied with the disclaimer of participation in such sentiments as made by Mr. Gladstone, and wishes to put it to him whether he or at least some of his colleagues should not take an opportunity of reprobating in very strong terms such language.

At present, and now for many days, these revolutionary theories are allowed to produce what effect they may in the minds of the working classes. Gross mis-statements and fabrications, injurious to the credit of the Queen, and injurious to the Monarchy, remain unnoticed and uncontradicted; some of which, such as the Queen never having paid Income Tax, can be called nothing but deliberate falsehoods, and could be contradicted at once by any official person.

The Queen feels that, in writing thus freely to Mr. Gladstone on this subject, she is not only consulting her own interests, and the interests of the Monarchy, but also the interests of the Government. She does not for a moment doubt the sentiments of the Cabinet on the subject, and *only wishes that they should be expressed*; for Mr. Gladstone may feel sure that a large section of his supporters, in Parliament and out of it, view with abhorrence the revolutionary theories now promulgated, and naturally look to him and his colleagues for some very decided expression of their condemnation of such opinions.

The Queen would ask Mr. Gladstone to give these remarks his serious consideration.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 22*nd Nov.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, thanks your Majesty for having written to him in so clear and explicit a manner on the late speech of Sir Charles Dilke at Newcastle, and the topics which connect themselves with it.

In so doing, your Majesty has only anticipated Mr. Gladstone. These subjects have for some time been to him matter of daily, and of increasingly grave, consideration. If he has not troubled your Majesty upon them, it has been in the first place from his anxiety, after your Majesty's severe and trying illness, to confine himself, for the time, and in the absence of pressing necessity, to business of routine, in his communications with your Majesty; and secondly, because there are but few days on which the pressure of his ordinary correspondence is sufficiently lightened to enable him to approach, with the freedom of mind which they require, subjects of so much delicacy and importance. He will not on this occasion go beyond what stands in immediate connection with the points raised in your Majesty's letter.

Mr. Gladstone does not know from what report your Majesty's impressions of his speech at the Guildhall have been derived; and he may have mistaken the force and bearing of his own words: but he does not think that they either stated, or conveyed to his audience, simple preference for a Monarchy as against a Republic, or that the question between these two was in his view an open question. Sir Charles Dilke's speech overshot its mark; and produced, as Mr. Gladstone hopes and thinks, a reaction of feeling in the minds of the great majority of the country. He is not at all sure that this reaction would have been accelerated or strengthened, if he, as Minister, had reprobated in very strong terms Sir Charles Dilke's declaration in favour of Republicanism, which was abstract and prospective, and not of a nature to bring into question allegiance or obedience to the laws. Mistakenly or not, Mr. Gladstone had a reason for avoiding the use of these strong terms in the way of reprobation, and for employing them only to express the views of the Government with respect to the preservation and perpetuation of the Monarchy. His reason was this. He regarded it as a fact of extreme gravity, giving much cause for reflection, that any public man, even of the moderate weight of Sir Charles Dilke, should have propounded these views to a large public meeting in Newcastle, and should have received a vote of thanks for his speech. Mr. Gladstone thought under these circumstances (and what has since taken place confirms his opinion) that a severe denunciation by him of Sir Charles Dilke's declaration, though it doubtless would have gratified many, would have tended to exasperate and harden such persons as composed the Newcastle meeting. They are a small minority, as he hopes, in the country. But a few years ago that minority (so far as he knows) did not exist. The causes, that have brought it into existence, may lead to its growth. Its existence at all is not only matter of grief and pain to Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, but is also matter of grave public importance. The mode of handling it is a subject for much consideration: and in Mr. Gladstone's belief the best mode is to deal as lightly as may be with the mere signs, but seriously with the causes, of the distemper. For the moment, he deemed it his most prudent course to speak slightingly of Sir C. Dilke's Republicanism, but very strongly indeed of the Monarchy. He is, indeed, aware that in the execution of this design he may have succeeded very ill: but he trusts he has now explained his motive and purpose to your Majesty.

The second part of your Majesty's letter touches those imputations on the Legislature and Government of the country, which are connected with the Civil List, and which more or less reflect upon your Majesty, at least to the extent of causing pain and just annoyance.

Mr. Gladstone writes from memory, and may be in error; but he is not aware that the false statement relating to the Income Tax has been made by any responsible person. If it has, or if your Majesty desires it, the truth should certainly be told. But Mr. Gladstone ventures humbly so far to differ from your Majesty, that he much doubts whether it be advisable that (unless an obvious opportunity should offer) a Minister should give the contradiction.

And so with regard to the Civil List. Mr. Gladstone would remind your Majesty that, for the whole of the arrangements connected with it, Ministers are responsible. Were any of them to enter into the argument with Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Gladstone has the fear that the effect might be to widen, and, so to speak, establish the controversy. A statement proceeding from them, and putting the antagonist on the defensive, would infallibly provoke further questions. It is also very difficult for them to tender, in their own person, any incomplete statement, without being open to a charge of reticence and deceit, from which even your Majesty, however unjustly, might suffer. But if the statement is to be complete, it must bring into view matters that have as yet scarcely or not at all been touched, and the discussion of which Mr. Gladstone would be inclined to deprecate in the present state of the public mind. The same objections would scarcely apply to a non-official statement; but its benefit would be limited. Mr. Gladstone will endeavour, however, further to examine whether such a statement would be advisable.

Mr. Gladstone has thus far submitted to your Majesty what are simply his own views. It had been his intention to take counsel from colleagues, or from the Cabinet, upon them when the Ministers next meet in London; as by that time he hoped to be able to have carefully reviewed and weighed, to the best of his ability, all that belonged to the subject. He will, however, obey any, even the slightest, wish of your Majesty with regard to an earlier consultation on the points opened in your Majesty's letter.

In conclusion, he again thanks your Majesty for the just and condescending frankness of your letter, and he begs your Majesty to believe that what he earnestly desires is not to avoid taking his own decided part in a controversy respecting Republicanism in this country, if there is to be one, but to obviate such a controversy altogether, or to reduce it to insignificance, and, if it may be, bring it into contempt.

The delicacy and importance of the question how this may best be done will serve, he hopes, as his excuse first for his troubling your Majesty with so long a letter, and secondly for his admitting that it is far from disposing comprehensively or sufficiently of the question so properly raised by your Majesty.

He takes leave to add that had Sir C. Dilke been a person at all open to influence or persuasion from the Government, an attempt of that kind would have been made. But on the contrary his feelings towards it are, for whatever reason, hostile, and he moved a vote of censure on its policy with respect to the Black Sea in the early part of the last Session.

Mr. Gladstone trusts your Majesty is making continual advances towards complete recovery.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 22*nd Nov.* 1871.—Breakfasted for the first time again with my children, and felt it was a step forward and I was returning to ordinary life. Heard dear Bertie had "mild typhoid fever" and I at once determined to send off Sir William Jenner to Sandringham. This was gratefully accepted by Alix. Felt very anxious. This fearful fever, and at this very time of the year! Everyone much distressed.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27*th Nov.*—At eight a telegram arrived. The report not good, a restless night and incessant wandering. We are all in the greatest anxiety. The alarm in London great. Immense sympathy all over the country. Heard from Sir William Jenner, who had returned to Sandringham, that, though Bertie was certainly very ill, he had found him less alarmingly so than he had expected. Though quite delirious, he knew people quite well. The expression and appearance good and unchanged, and the voice strong. At quarter to five, the children arrived with Lady Macclesfield and came to my room. They told me how dreadfully anxious they had been yesterday. Lady Macclesfield was desired by Dr. Gull to tell me that poor dear Bertie "was as ill as he could be, without its being hopeless." Dear Alix was bearing up well, but looking quite wretched and the picture of sorrow. The poor little unconscious children made me very sad to look at. Decided to go to Sandringham on Wednesday.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 28*th Nov.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is deeply concerned that your Majesty should be visited with a subject of domestic anxiety in the health of one so near and dear as the Prince of Wales, as well as that it should have fallen to him to address your Majesty at such a season on subjects of public care and solicitude.

Mr. Gladstone earnestly hopes that the powers of physical resistance, which are so prominently brought into view on this occasion, may by God's mercy ensure the favourable course of the disorder, and bring about a speedy relief to the minds especially of your Majesty and the Princess of Wales. He is glad to have received, while writing, an account which appears to give the hope of decided improvement.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's engagement to Halifax is on Monday next, the 4th. Before that day comes, Mr. Gladstone hopes to see and consider with him carefully the question what language it may be most prudent then to hold, with a view either to clearing the controversy,[1] or at any rate to providing that it shall be clearly understood that the persons really arraigned in it are your Majesty's advisers, and they only, except as far as Parliament may in any point share their responsibility.

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[1] The controversy which had been started by Sir Charles Dilke's speech.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

SANDRINGHAM, 29*th Nov.* 1871.—Better accounts from Sandringham.[1] Quieter, mind clearer. Nourishment taken well. I was nervous and agitated at the thought of this sad journey, weak as I still am. At eleven I left with the Duchess of Roxburghe and Colonel Ponsonby. Reached Wolferton after three. Affie, Sir William Knollys, and Colonel Ellis met me there, and a quarter of an hour's drive brought us to Sandringham. The road lay between commons, and plantations of fir trees, rather wild-looking, flat, bleak country. The house, rather near the high-road, a handsome, quite newly built Elizabethan building, was only completed last autumn. Dear Alix and Alice met me at the door, the former looking thin and anxious, and with tears in her eyes. She took me at once through the great hall upstairs to my rooms, three in number.

I took off my things and went over to Bertie's room, and was allowed to step in from behind a screen to see him sleeping or dozing. The room was dark and only one lamp burning, so that I could not see him well. He was lying rather flat on his back, breathing very rapidly and loudly. Of course the watching is constant, and dear Alix does a great deal herself. Two nurses and Gillet, the valet, take turns in the nursing. How all reminded me so vivedly and sadly of my dearest Albert's illness! Went over to take tea in Alix's pretty room, with her, Alice, and Affie. Saw Sir William Jenner, who said that the breathing had all along been the one thing that caused anxiety. It was a far more violent attack than my beloved husband's was, and we could not now look for any improvement till after the 21st day. The temperature was higher than yesterday. Dined with Alix, Alice, and Affie, in a small room below. Afterwards we went upstairs and into Bertie's dressing-room. Dr. Gull came in, saying they were a little more anxious, as the pulse and temperature were higher. I remained till about ten and then went to my room.[1]

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[1] The Queen was of course at Windsor at the beginning of the day.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

Windsor Castle, *4th Dec.* 1871.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter and sympathy in this time of great and painful anxiety. . . . While the Queen is very hopeful that this dreadful illness may end favourably, we must still feel very anxious for some time to come. . . .

The Queen herself is not ill, but not regaining strength, and is still lame and unable to walk out of doors.

With respect to Sir C. Dilke's proceedings and the meetings he has attended, while the Queen is in no way disposed to think they should be disregarded, she also is perfectly satisfied that the bulk of the nation is thoroughly loyal, and only wants to be well led, and for the Government to take a firm stand against revolutionary and extreme views, and hold a high tone, to keep all straight. But it will no longer do to try and please the Radicals by going farther and farther in that direction or by appearing to fear the House of Commons.

Mr. Gladstone and the Government must take a bold firm line, and they will rally round them all their best and truest supporters. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, *5th Dec.* 1871.—Had a letter from Sir William Jenner saying that Bertie's condition for the last twenty-four hours had altogether been satisfactory. He ends with the following: "It will, I fear, be some days before, even should the progress be quite uninterrupted, the Prince of Wales can be free from risk of local complications. The fever has not finished yet its course, and there is *no safety* till it *has*." This I have always felt and tried all along to impress on others.

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[1] The Queen remained at Sandringham till 1st December, and then returned to Windsor.

I am greatly distressed at my dear old "Dacko" having died. The dear old dog was so attached to me and had such funny amusing ways, with large melancholy expressive eyes, and was quite part of my daily life, always in my room, and I and all will miss him much.

Affie arrived at half past five, full of hope that Bertie was going on well, but I told him he must not be too sanguine, for the danger was not past. Poor Lord Chesterfield, who had been to Scarborough (where everyone believes Bertie got his typhoid) and was taken ill before Bertie, of the same horrid fever, has died, to the utter despair of his mother, whose only son he was! He had been thought to be doing so well.

Earl Granville to Colonel Ponsonby.

[*Telegram.*]

WALMER CASTLE, *5th Dec.* 1871.—Monsignor Stonor has just telegraphed from Rome as follows:

"The Holy Father charges me to ask for news of the Prince of Wales. He prays for his recovery."

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th Dec.* 1871.—The Queen commands me to beg that you will convey to the Pope her Majesty's grateful acknowledgment of his kind message and her thanks for the sympathy and interest he shows about the Prince of Wales. Although the fever has not yet left him, his Royal Highness's progress is satisfactory.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, *5th Dec.* 1871.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday, and has especial pleasure in doing this on a day, when the telegrams last received respecting the health of the Prince of Wales appear to be more marked in a favourable sense, than they have been on any previous day of this most critical illness.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer[1] came here on Saturday, to consider what were the points on which he might most advantageously dwell in his speech at Halifax, with reference to the recent declarations and criticisms of Sir Charles Dilke.

Mr. Gladstone does not find, in the report of the speech which he has read in to-day's papers, a reference to one point on which he was to touch, namely, the obvious but important one of the exclusive responsibility of Ministers for the arrangements connected with the Civil List, and with the redemption of the pledge of Sir Robert Peel in 1842 respecting the Income Tax. He fears that this may have escaped Mr. Lowe's recollection, unless indeed the report be in fault; but it is probable that some other opportunity will soon occur. Meantime it is plain that Sir Charles Dilke's language has drawn down upon him a vast preponderance of disapproval, and Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks that, so far as his abstract opinions are concerned, the more independent this disapproval is, the better. What is really to be desired, however, is not the establishment of the undoubted fact of the general attachment of the nation to the Monarchy, but the return of the public sentiment to the state in which it has existed through most of your Majesty's reign, and in a great degree owing to your Majesty's conduct, namely, the state in which Republican opinions could nowhere show their head, nor claim any visible minority, however small, of adherents. That this matter will continue to engage the most careful reflection of the Government, your Majesty may rest assured.

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[1] Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Gladstone humbly acquaints your Majesty that, in conformity with the views expressed to your Majesty at Balmoral, he has been in communication with Mr. Bright on the state of public affairs. Mr. Bright, who, as he may mention, is much concerned and shocked at the recent proceedings, ponders much on the subject of office, from doubts, perhaps it should rather be said from the remains of misgiving, as to the sufficiency of his strength; but it would not surprise Mr. Gladstone if he were to conclude by allowing his name to be submitted to your Majesty for the Chancellorship of the Duchy. His accession to the office would have a quieting effect on the public mind.

As Mr. Gladstone observes that your Majesty intends to see him before long, he humbly entreats your Majesty, on this and on all occasions in summoning him to your presence, to allow the time and manner to be such, as shall imply the smallest inroad on your Majesty's comfort and repose.

He hopes that your Majesty may shortly recover the important power of walking exercise out of doors.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

SANDRINGHAM, *8th Dec.* 1871.—Was dreadfully alarmed, though, I own, hardly unprepared for a less good report. The telegram I received at quarter past eight said: "The Prince passed a very unquiet night. Not so well. Temperature risen to 104. Respirations more rapid. Dr. Gull and I are both very anxious." This from Sir William Jenner. Felt greatly agitated. When I got up saw Dr. Marshall, who said it was very grave, occurring at this stage of the illness, and he thought, if I wanted to go to Sandringham, I should do so to-day.

At three [Louise] and I started on our melancholy journey, the Duchess of Roxburghe and Colonel Ponsonby going with us. At the Victoria Park station Affie joined us. Reached Wolferton at half past seven, Sir William Knollys meeting us and handing me a note from Sir William Jenner, saying condition no worse, but that was all he could say. Got into a brougham with Louise and Affie, and drove in deep snow and hard frost up to Sandringham. Nobody at the door but Lady Macclesfield, who said dear Bertie was *very bad*. Went up at once to the room. The doctors were there, Alix and Alice on either side of the bed, and poor dear Bertie breathing rapidly. I naturally only peeped for a moment, and then remained behind the screen. The state was very critical, but not hopeless, the doctors said. His voice was still strong and good. Went to my room and had a little dinner alone with Louise. It was decided to send for Leopold and Beatrice, as the danger seemed so great. Went over again to the dressing-room. The fearful breathing continued, but dear Bertie was not worse. Alix and Alice still with him.

10*th Dec.*—The feeling shown by the whole nation is quite marvellous and most touching and striking, showing how really sound and truly loyal the people really are. Letters and telegrams pour in and no end of recommendations of remedies of the most mad kind. Receive the kindest letters full of sympathy from the Ministers, my own people and friends.

11*th Dec.*—This has been a terrible day. At half past five I was woke by a message from Sir William Jenner saying dear Bertie had had a very severe spasm, which had alarmed them very much, though it was over now. I had scarcely got the message, before Sir William returned saying there had been another. I saw him at once, and he told me the spasm had been so severe, that at any moment dear Bertie might go off, so that I had better come at once. I hurriedly got up, put on my dressing-gown, and went to the room, where I found Alix and Alice by the bedside, and Dr. Gull and the two devoted nurses. It was dark, the candles burning, and most dreary. Poor dear Bertie was lying there breathing heavily, and as if he must choke at any moment. I remained sitting behind the screen. Louise and her three brothers came into the dressing-room. Everything was done that could be thought of to give a little relief. After a little while he seemed easier, so the doctors advised us to go away, and I went back to my room, breakfasted, and dressed.

I went backwards and forwards continually. Dined with Leopold and Beatrice. He behaves so well and shows so much feeling. Went back to see after dear Bertie the last thing before going to bed. The talking was incessant, without a moment's sleep. Dr. Gull said he was much alarmed. Went away with a very heavy heart and dreading further trouble. Felt quite exhausted.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Carlton H. Terrace, 11*th Dec.* 1871.— . . . Mr. Gladstone received to-day your Majesty's commands for copies of the forms of Prayer prepared by the Archbishop, and despatched them to Sandringham.

He knows not how either to touch, or to leave untouched, the painful subject, which in the very streets seems to absorb the mind of every passer-by, and which is now pressing with such fearful weight on your Majesty. It is heart-rending to look back upon that picture of youth and health, and of vigour seemingly inexhaustible, which but a few weeks ago was before his eyes; and to remember that singular combination of warmth and kindliness with unaffected and unfailing dignity, which is now all laid low on the bed of sickness and of suffering. Mr. Gladstone will not mock the sorrow of this moment by assurances which, even when sincere, must seem so poor and hollow; but he earnestly commends the sufferer and all the afflicted round him, most of all the Mother and the Wife, to Him who alone is able either to heal or to console, and who turns into mercies the darkest of all His dispensations.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

SANDRINGHAM, 13*th Dec.* 1871.—This really has been the worst day of all, and coming as it has so close to the sad 14th, filled us and, I believe, the whole country with anxious forebodings and the greatest alarm. The first report early in the morning was that dear Bertie seemed very weak, and the breathing very imperfect and feeble. The strength, however, rallied again. There had been no rest all night, from the constant delirium. The pulse varied in quality of strength at intervals, from hour to hour. Got up and dressed quickly, taking a mouthful of breakfast before hurrying to Bertie's room. Sat near by on the sofa, but so that he could not see me. Remained a long time. It was very distressing to hear him calling out and talking incessantly quite incoherently. Strolled round the house and pleasure grounds for a short while. It was raw and damp, and thawing all day.

Returned to Bertie's room, and, whilst there, he had a most frightful fit of coughing, which seemed at one moment to threaten his life! Only Alix and one of the nurses were there, and the doctors were at once hastily summoned. But the dreadful moment had passed. Poor dear Alix was in the greatest alarm and despair, and I supported her as best I could. Alice and I said to one another in tears, "There can be no hope." I hardly left the room, as I was so terribly anxious, and wanted to be of any little use I could. I went up to the bed and took hold of his poor hand, kissing it and stroking his arm. He turned round and looked wildly at me saying, "Who are you?" and then, "It's Mama." "Dear child," I replied. Later he said, "It is so kind of you to come," which shows he knew me, which was most comforting to me. I sat next to the bed holding his hand, as he seemed dozing. Then once more he said, " It's so kind of you to come," and, " Don't sit here for me." Dr. Gull and Sir William Jenner were so thankful for this, as was I. I left again when Alix and Alice came in, who had been resting a little.

When I returned I found dear Bertie breathing very heavily and with great difficulty. Another symptom which frightened me dreadfully, was his clutching at his bed-clothes and seeming to feel for things which were not there. The gasping between each word was most distressing. We were getting nearer and nearer to the 14th, and it seemed more and more like ten years ago, and yet it was very different too. After going to my room to have some dinner, went straight back, and the doctors told me they hoped dear Bertie was *really* a little better. He had had a few minutes' sleep, was talking less loudly, and the breathing was less rapid. The condition was still very serious and alarming, but *not* hopeless. Went rather relieved back to my room.

14*th Dec.*—This dreadful anniversary, the 10th, returned again. It seems impossible to believe all that time has passed. Felt painfully having to spend the day away from Windsor, but the one great anxiety seems to absorb everything else. Instead of this date dawning upon another deathbed, which I had felt almost certain of, it brought the cheering news that dear Bertie had slept quietly at intervals, and really soundly from four to quarter to six ; the respirations much easier, and food taken well. Louise came in to me before I got up, and Alice whilst I was dressing.

Breakfasted with Beatrice and Leopold, and then went over to dear Bertie. When I stood near the screen, he asked the nurse if that was not the Queen, and she asked me to go up to him, which I did. He kissed my hand, smiling in his usual way, and said, " So kind of you to come ; it is the kindest thing you could do." He wanted to talk more, but I would not allow him, and left. He must be kept quite quiet, not to try his breath, for he still coughs a good deal. Alice came to my room and she read the fine selection and address by Dean Stanley on this day nine years ago, Louise, Beatrice, and Leopold being there too. It seemed hardly possible to realise the day and to feel that on this *very* day our dear Bertie is getting better instead of worse! How deeply grateful we are for God's mercy! Walked a little with Louise, very muddy and slushy, and the snow all disappearing. Went to see after dear Bertie, who was going on well, occasionally dozing and talking far less. What a relief! Lunched quietly in my room, and afterwards took a drive with Beatrice. On coming home, went over to Bertie's room, where all was tolerably quiet. Rested and took tea with Alix in her room. She is so thankful that just on this day the turn for the better should have taken place. All satisfactory the last thing at night.[1]

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 15*th Dec.* 1871.— . . . All here are rejoiced to think that yesterday, which was so deeply marked in your Majesty's thoughts with the recollection of irreparable calamity, should have been in the midst of this new trial a day of hope and comfort. The series of telegrams which have reported gradual improvement has now grown rather a long one, and it is impossible to repress the cheerful feeling which they inspire. It still remains to desire that this feeling of hope and pleasure may not alter that temper of humble acknowledgment and trust, in which the nation has so earnestly sought by prayer for the Prince's recovery.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st Dec.* 1871.—A good telegram from Sandringham. Bertie slept all through the night, no cough, temperature normal. Directly after luncheon saw Mr. Gladstone, who spoke very feelingly about dear Bertie's illness, his present condition, and the wonderful feeling and sympathy which had been evinced on this occasion. I consulted Mr. Gladstone as to what could be done to express my sense of gratitude. After some discussion it was agreed that I should write him a letter, expressive of my deep feeling of the sympathy and loyalty shown.

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[1] The improvement continued, and the Queen was able to return to Windsor on 19th December.

SANDRINGHAM,[1] 31*st Dec.*—Could hardly believe it was the last day in the old year, which has really been a most trying one. Ever since the beginning of August we have been in trouble of one kind or another, culminating in this dreadful illness of poor dear Bertie's. But I thank God for His great mercy, for amidst all dangers, trials, and sufferings, He has always protected us and brought us through the "fiery furnace." May I ever prove grateful for it! Went over once more to Bertie's room. He was quiet, thank God. How I pray the New Year may see him safely on the road to recovery!

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[1] The Prince had a somewhat serious relapse on 27th December, and the Queen came for a third visit to Sandringham. Since then the steady recovery had been renewed.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XI

On the 27th February 1872 the Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales, drove in semi-state through gaily decorated streets, between densely packed rows of loyal and enthusiastic people, from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral, there publicly to return thanks, in a solemn service attended by the most representative of her subjects, for the recovery of the Prince from his dangerous illness. She and her son and daughter-in-law felt, as she told the world in a grateful letter, that "the whole nation joined with them in thanking God for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales's life." The loyal emotion of the people was further heightened by the news of the Queen's alarming experience on the next day but one, when she suddenly found a pistol presented at her by a strange man as she was about to alight from her carriage at Buckingham Palace. The assailant, Arthur O'Connor, a lad of seventeen, was promptly seized by John Brown, the Queen's personal attendant, and the pistol proved to be unloaded. At his trial in April O'Connor was found by the jury to be sane, and was sentenced by Baron Cleasby to a year's imprisonment with hard labour and a whipping. After the Thanksgiving Service little more was heard of republican feeling or carping criticism of the Queen. Sir Charles Dilke had a chilling reception when he moved in Parliament on 19th March for an enquiry into the Civil List; Mr. Gladstone sternly opposed him, eulogising her Majesty's faithful adherence to her compact with the nation. The attempt of Mr. Auberon Herbert, Sir Charles Dilke's seconder, to continue the debate led to a striking, but not very decorous, exhibition of the resentment of the House of Commons at the whole proceeding; and finally, after several noisy scenes, the motion was contemptuously rejected by 276 votes to 2. During the autumn the Queen had the sorrow to lose her half-sister, Princess Hohenlohe.

The main political interest both of the session and of the year lay in the final settlement of the *Alabama* question under the arbitration provided by the Treaty of Washington. But for several months there was great uncertainty whether there would be any arbitration at all. To the surprise and indignation of the British people, the American case to be submitted to the arbitrators included the "indirect claims," making England responsible for the prolongation of the Civil War, which spread-eagle American politicians had put forward, but which the British Washington Commissioners held to be excluded by the terms of the Treaty. The Opposition under Mr. Disraeli supported the Government in stoutly resisting this demand; but, as a section of public opinion in the United States was clamorous, none of the diplomatic overtures attempted was successful. Accordingly, when the Tribunal opened at Geneva in June, the British agent asked for an adjournment; but happily the American arbitrator, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, solved the difficulty by persuading his colleagues to rule out the indirect claims at once. The arbitration then proceeded; and in September the arbitrators delivered an award condemning Great Britain to pay to the United States a gross sum of about £3,250,000.

The principal measures passed during the session were a Ballot Bill, reluctantly accepted by the Lords, and a Licensing Bill, much resented by "the Trade" and by a large section of public opinion. Mr. Gladstone's Government, owing to several blunders, and to the enmities provoked by heroic legislation, declined markedly in popular favour; and Mr. Disraeli took the occasion to appeal for support for the Conservatives in two great speeches, at Manchester in April, and at the Crystal Palace in June. During this year a Home Rule movement developed rapidly in Ireland, largely fostered by the Roman Catholic clergy. Attention was directed to two by-elections, in Galway and Kerry, where in each case the Home Ruler won a notable victory. A petition was presented against Captain Nolan's return for Galway, on the ground of undue clerical influence; and Judge Keogh, a Roman Catholic judge of good repute for fairness and discernment, unseated Captain Nolan, and reported an archbishop, two bishops, and thirty-one priests to the House of Commons as guilty of undue influence and intimidation. Very severe language was used of the clergy in the judgment; and popular Irish feeling was roused to fury against the judge, who was burnt in effigy in numerous places and had to have special protection from Government.

An attempt to censure him in the House of Commons failed, his assailants only mustering twenty-three votes.

In France, throughout the year, it was with considerable difficulty that M. Thiers preserved that Conservative Republic, "which divided Frenchmen the least," and maintained himself as President, under the attacks of aggressive Monarchists on the Right and of M. Gambetta and Radical Republicans on the Left. In Germany the struggle between the Civil State and the Roman Catholic Church was intensified; and Prince Bismarck dealt the Ultramontanes shrewd blows by carrying through the Reichstag and Landtag laws enforcing state inspection of schools and practically suppressing and expelling the Jesuits. In Spain the young King Amadeo found his position between insurgent Carlists and turbulent Republicans increasingly awkward; a determined but happily unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him was made in Madrid in July.

During the year, General Grant was re-elected President of the United States for a second term; Lord Mayo, a popular and efficient Viceroy of India, was murdered by a native convict in the Andaman Islands; and the first responsible Ministry took office at the Cape.

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CHAPTER XI

1872

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

SANDRINGHAM, 1*st Jan.* 1872.—Never before have I spent New Year's day away from home, and never did I think to spend it here, with poor Bertie so ill in bed, though, thank God ! no longer in danger, at any rate not in any immediate danger. May our Heavenly Father restore him and let this heavy trial be for his good in every way ! May sweet, darling Alix be preserved and blessed, and may the dear children grow up to be a blessing to their parents, to their country, and to me !

Gave my photographs framed to the two excellent nurses, and Bertie's valet, etc. Writing telegrams in quantities. Then went over to Bertie, who kissed me and gave me a nosegay, which he had specially ordered, and which touched me very much, as well as his being able to wish me a happy New Year. What a blessed beginning after such dreadful anxiety ![1]

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 18*th Jan.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He sent to London yesterday evening, with reference to the Council of to-day, a general form of announcement respecting the Thanksgiving at St. Paul's, in the terms approved by your Majesty, and he will now make enquiry in order to learn whether there is any difficulty in the way of appointing the 27th [February] for the purpose.

Mr. Gladstone feels, and every one must feel, the force of the considerations which make your Majesty so justly desirous of visiting the Princess Hohenlohe. Nevertheless he would humbly entreat your Majesty to reserve for further consideration the exact time for paying the visit. Three reasons to this effect appear to him to be of weight. First, the vital importance of the next few months with reference to the determination of the Prince of Wales's future, and of your Majesty's personal proximity in its bearing on this very momentous question. Secondly, the likelihood that the Session of Parliament may be a rude one, from controversies of various kinds, and particularly on points connected with public education, which profoundly touch the mind and feeling of the nation. Thirdly, Mr. Gladstone is, on a first view, apprehensive of the effect which might be produced on the public mind by your Majesty's absence from the country during a very important portion of the Session of Parliament, even supposing it not to be marked by any features peculiarly critical. Mr. Gladstone humbly submits these points to your Majesty's wisdom and deliberation.[1]

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[1] Her Majesty returned to Windsor on 2nd January.

Bishop Wilberforce to Queen Victoria.

NORMAN COURT, STOCKBRIDGE, 21*st January* 1872.

MADAM,—I cannot let this day on which I have been endeavouring to stir your Majesty's people in this Parish up to offering a meet thanksgiving to God for His mercies vouchsafed to your Royal family, pass by, without asking your Majesty graciously to forgive me for saying to you, what I know not how to utter, how very deeply I have sympathised through these sad weeks with your Majesty, and have tried to pray for you and for the Prince, or how heartily I now rejoice with you and thank God for this deliverance.

It is impossible to have received for so many years so many gracious acts of kindness from your Majesty, and to have been allowed to see so much of your inward life, without having had a deep respectful affection kindled within me which makes everything which concerns your Majesty move the very centre of my spirit.

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[1] In spite of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, the Queen paid her promised visit to her half-sister in Germany this spring.

Your Majesty is too good not to forgive me for having given vent to what I cannot help saying—how truly in sorrow or in joy I am your Majesty's loyal and gratefully devoted Servant, S. WINTON :

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 30*th Jan.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet this day considered the proper order of business to be pursued in the House of Commons at the commencement of the Session. . . .

The chief and most anxious subject of their deliberations was the case which has been prepared and presented by the American Government on the subject of the *Alabama* claims. Your Majesty's advisers cannot conceal from themselves that this document contains a mass of matter which is at once irrelevant and exasperating, and advances claims and pretensions such as it is wholly incompatible with national honour to admit, or to plead to before a Tribunal of Arbitration. The Cabinet have requested the aid of the Law Officers, and they will maturely consider the whole of this undoubtedly very grave and anxious matter before tendering any advice to your Majesty.

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 31*st January* 1872.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I am commanded by the Queen to assure you that her Majesty fully participates in the anxiety which you have informed the Queen is felt by the Cabinet with respect to the *Alabama* claims.

The Queen hopes that, on reference to the Law

Officers, it will be found that the legal advisers of the British Commissioners[1] have not been in error, but her Majesty can well understand that the Commissioners thought they were treating with gentlemen actuated by honourable feelings, and did not suspect that a trap was being laid for them.

Her Majesty thinks it may be useful that you should know that, during an interview with Lord Derby, he said of his own accord to the Queen that he was indignant at the conduct of the Americans, and considered the matter so serious that he would endeavour to do his best to help the Government on this question.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 31*st Jan.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and hastens to assure your Majesty that in the judgment of his colleagues and his own your Majesty's Commissioners have not fallen even into that kind of error which upright and honourable men may often without special caution commit in dealing with those who are less honourable and upright. Mr. Gladstone will not now trouble your Majesty with details: but he regrets to say that several of the newspapers have written on this subject with singular shortsightedness. Even bearing in mind the proceeding of Prince Gortchakoff in the autumn of 1870, Mr. Gladstone is constrained to say that the conduct of the American Government in this affair is the most disreputable he has ever known in his recollection of diplomacy.

Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks your Majesty for the intimation, conveyed through Colonel Ponsonby, of the sentiments of Lord Derby, which are what he fully expected.

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[1] The Commissioners were Earl de Grey and Ripon (created Marquis of Ripon in June 1871, after the signing of the Washington Treaty), Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton (British Minister at Washington), Sir John Macdonald (Prime Minister of Canada), and Professor Mountague Bernard.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *7th Feb.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that there has been to-day in the House of Commons a lengthened discussion on the Report of the Address. The overpowering interest of the question connected with the Treaty of Washington led without doubt to this renewal of debate. The House is unanimous in its determined repudiation of the claims for indirect losses; while there is a considerable and a natural disposition to criticise the conduct of the Commissioners, whose responsibility is, of course, altogether merged in that of your Majesty's advisers. A statement, however, by Mr. Gladstone, of that part of the case which stands upon the literal language of the Treaty and Protocol, met with a very warm acceptance on both sides of the House.

The Speaker announced his intended retirement in terms of unfeigned emotion, which made a deep impression on the House. To-morrow the subject will be more largely treated.

Notice has been given in both Houses of motions conveying a censure of the appointment of Sir R. Collier.[1] The charge of evading an Act of Parliament is one of the heaviest, short of treason, that can be brought against a Minister. No man of honour would consent, unless under circumstances the most special, either to retain office, or to hold a seat, in a House of Commons which had found him guilty of such a charge. It does not at present seem probable that the motion will be carried in the House of Commons, even if it be made in terms such as those which have been used by the Lord Chief Justice and by Lord Derby in speaking of it. Perhaps some motion short of this, but meant to inflict a wound, may be carried in the House of Lords. Should this happen, it may place the Lord Chancellor in the first place, Mr. Gladstone in the second as jointly responsible with him, and the Government itself possibly, though less concerned, in a position of some embarrassment, taking into view the national gravity of the present crisis.

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[1] Sir Robert Collier, the Attorney-General, had been appointed a paid member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, although by the statute creating the office, just passed, such appointments were limited to those who had held judicial positions in the superior courts. A technical compliance with the law was effected by making Sir Robert a Judge of the Common Pleas for a couple of days.

Mr. Gladstone has been extremely gratified by your Majesty's gracious telegram of this morning, for he has no livelier pleasure than to learn that any humble effort of his, in the discharge of his duty, has met with your Majesty's condescending approval.

Earl Spencer[1] *to Queen Victoria.*

DUBLIN CASTLE, 11*th Feb.* 1872.—Lord Spencer presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and in compliance with your Majesty's gracious commands continues some account of the occurrences in Ireland, which have taken place since the end of December.

The prisoner Kelly, who had been acquitted of the charge of murdering ex-Constable Talbot, was last week tried for firing at two policemen who attempted to arrest him. The trial was conducted by different Judges to those who tried him for murder, and, as the case was very simple, only occupied one day. The jury convicted him and he was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.

Lord Spencer believes that this will have a salutary effect, and counteract the ill effects of his acquittal of the graver charge.

During this trial the sympathy shown for the prisoner was not so marked, but the Fenians no doubt were anxious for Kelly's acquittal, and his sentence will be a considerable blow to them.

There has been another case of shooting in the streets of Dublin, but the victim is happily recovering. It is supposed to have been caused by a false idea among the Fenians that the man shot had been giving information to Government, but this was not the case. If they shoot each other in this way, the wickedness and folly of such secret associations may be made clear to even Fenians.

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[1] The 5th Earl (1835–1910), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1868–1874 and 1882–1885, First Lord of the Admiralty 1892–1895.

The two elections in Galway and Kerry have both resulted in the return of Members pledged to Home Rule. In Galway the Catholic priesthood supported the Home Rule candidate with all the violence which they can use on occasions with great effect; they were opposed by the gentry of the county, among whom were leading Roman Catholics, such as the Earl of Westmeath and Sir Thomas Burke. In Kerry, on the contrary, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, Dr. Moriarty, opposed strongly Home Rule, and supported Lord Kenmare's relative, Mr. Dease.

In both counties much intimidation prevailed, with mobs attacking voters, and the Government had to send large forces of cavalry, infantry, and police to maintain the peace, and protect voters. A small army had to be sent at great trouble and cost. Such a state of things is very unfortunate, and a sad reproach to the country.

Lord Spencer cannot but think that the ballot will remove this abuse to a great extent, for, under that system of voting, mobs will not know which voters to attack or stop. It is said that petitions will be lodged against the return of both members.

Captain Nolan is a Roman Catholic and an officer in the Royal Artillery; he has thrown himself into the hands of the extreme men of the National party. Mr. Blennerhassett is a young gentleman who has just left Oxford, a Protestant. He is said to have no ability, and has spent the ready money to which he succeeded entirely on the election.

Lord Spencer fears that this cry will be taken up by many Irish constituencies, but a firm opposition to it on the part of Government will overcome it, and in a year or two it will be as little thought of as the old Repeal cry of O'Connell.

Lord Spencer attended the annual banquet which is given to your Majesty's representative at the Mansion House. Your Majesty's health, and also that of the Prince and Princess of Wales, was most cordially applauded. . . .

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 19*th* *Feb.* 1872.—Colonel Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He thought Lord Halifax yesterday was out of spirits on many subjects, but this probably arose from his being so anxious about Lady Halifax's health.

He seemed to think that the Collier appointment had not been a wise one, but there was nothing in it to call for the censure which the Opposition attempted. He regretted the unnecessary violence of the Duke of Argyll's speech on the subject.

He could not understand the Ewelme appointment,[1] which seemed to be against the spirit if not of the letter of the Act, but he scarcely thought the Opposition would make an attack upon it.

He then spoke to Colonel Ponsonby about the Prince of Wales, and repeated that there is a strong and increasing feeling that now to lead an idle life would be very calamitous, and that he earnestly trusted he would have some occupation.

Colonel Ponsonby asked what he suggested? Lord Halifax replied that the subject had occupied his mind and that of other members of the Cabinet, and that they were coming to the conclusion that employment in Ireland was the best if not the only mode of settling the difficulty. In a general way it was thought that the Lord-Lieutenancy might be abolished and that your Majesty might depute the Prince of Wales to perform the ceremonial duties for a few months in Ireland. But he must, of course, be wholly disconnected with politics.

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[1] The rectory of Ewelme, which, by a statute passed in 1871, could only be held by a member of Oxford Convocation, had been conferred by Mr. Gladstone on a Cambridge graduate, who was thereupon technically qualified by being admitted to an *ad eundem* degree at Oxford.

Before any plan could be sketched out it would of course be necessary to ascertain whether your Majesty would approve of some such arrangement. Lord Halifax said he had reason to know that the Prince of Wales would gladly accept any employment if your Majesty expressed a wish he should do so, and he felt sure that Parliament would acquiesce in any such plan if it were known that it was proposed at your Majesty's wish. Colonel Ponsonby urged several objections, many of which Lord Halifax admitted, but considered them small in presence of the advantages to be gained. Failing this, he feared he saw no means of giving his Royal Highness any real employment. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 20*th Feb.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that the House of Commons after a variety of questions, some of which referred to the accommodation to be provided for Members on the 27th, proceeded to the case of Sir R. Collier. It was debated throughout the night. Sir R. Palmer moved the amendment in a most lucid and able speech. The discussion was conducted in terms as moderate as the nature of the case would permit. The House divided at a quarter before two, when the numbers were:

For the Government	268
For the motion	241
Majority	27

The division is supposed to have been less favourable to the Government in consequence of the idea among its friends that after the decision in the Lords[1] the question had become less important than before.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Buckingham Palace, 27*th Feb.* 1872.—Luckily a fine morning. After breakfast went over to the luncheon room and saw such crowds already collecting.

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[1] Where the Government only escaped censure by a majority of one.

Went to dress, and wore a black silk dress and jacket, trimmed with miniver, and a bonnet with white flowers and a white feather. Beatrice looked very nice in mauve, trimmed with swan's down. Awaited Bertie and Alix in the 44 room, and they soon came with their two little boys. Bertie was very lame and did not look at all well, I grieved to see. My three other sons were there, and the poor Emperor Napoleon and Empress Eugénie, who were anxious to see the Procession quietly, and whom I had specially invited to come to the Palace. The boys with little George[1] went on and got into an open carriage and four, with Lord Ailesbury, and in a few minutes I followed, taking poor Bertie's arm, for he could only walk very slowly, down to the Grand Entrance. We entered an open State landau with six horses, riden by three postilions. Alix (in blue velvet and sable) sat next to me, and Bertie opposite, with Beatrice, and little Eddy[2] between them. We had a Sovereign's escort, as on all State occasions. Seven open dress carriages with a pair of horses went in front of us, and *immediately* in front, the Lord Chancellor in his carriage, and the Speaker in his strange quaint old one.

I have no time to describe at length the long progress, the millions out, the beautiful decorations, the wonderful enthusiasm and astounding affectionate loyalty shown. The deafening cheers never ceased the whole way, and the most wonderful order was preserved. We seemed to be passing through a sea of people, as we went along the Mall. Our course going to St. Paul's was down the Mall, by Pall Mall, Trafalgar Square, straight up the Strand, Fleet Street, and Temple Bar, which was handsomely decorated. There were stands and platforms in front of the Clubs, etc., full of well-dressed people, and no end of nice and touching inscriptions. At the corner of Marlborough House there was a stand on which stood Bertie's dear little girls, who waved their handkerchiefs. At Temple Bar the Lord Mayor, in a crimson velvet and ermine robe, came up to the carriage to present the sword, which I touched and returned to him, after which he got on horseback, bareheaded, and carrying the sword rode in front, preceded by the Mace-bearer, City Marshal, and three other Aldermen. This caused a little delay. Everywhere troops lined the streets, and there were fifteen military bands stationed at intervals along the whole route, who played "God save the Queen" and "God bless the Prince of Wales" as the carriages approached, which evoked fresh outbursts of cheering. I saw the tears in Bertie's eyes and took and pressed his hand! It was a most affecting day, and many a time I repressed my tears. Bertie was continually with his hat off. I still hear the ringing cheers, and never can I forget the enthusiasm. We went up Ludgate Hill, where there was a very handsome arch, and in a short while reached St. Paul's by five minutes to one. The large inscription put on the top was, "I was glad when they said unto me, I will go into the House of the Lord."

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[1] The present King.

[2] Prince Albert Victor.

After we got out the Procession was formed, I walking between Bertie, whose arm I took, and Alix, the former leading Eddy and the latter Georgie. Beatrice, Affie, Arthur, Leopold, George C[ambridge], and all the ladies followed, the gentlemen, the Bishop of London, and the Dean of St. Paul's preceding us. I thought that the interior fell rather flat after the exterior. The Cathedral itself is so dull, cold, dreary, and dingy. It so badly lacks decoration and colour.[1] It was stiflingly hot, and though the *Te Deum* and anthem by Mr. Goss were fine, the service appeared to me cold and too long, excepting the concluding beautiful hymn, which was most touching and elevating! We, of the family, went into the small waiting-room prepared for us, and waited till all the carriages had started, then we entered ours, the Lord

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[1] This was, of course, before the decoration of the choir vaulting and walls by Sir William Richmond's mosaics, and the erection of the reredos.

Mayor *not* accompanying us this time, leaving St. Paul's at quarter past two, proceeding by Ludgate Hill, by the Old Bailey, past Newgate (very dreary-looking), up Holborn, where the decorations were splendid, with so many pretty mottos. There was a beautiful effect of chains of flowers with small wreaths hanging from the lamp posts. Oxford Street was particularly brilliant. Every moment something new attracted one's attention. At Regent Circus there was a splendid arch. A long line of seats, covered and handsomely decorated, extended a long way from the Marble Arch, and on both sides of the road there were endless thousands, even the trees were full of people and in some cases proved very dangerous to those who had climbed up into them. We went on to Hyde Park Corner, where there were immense crowds, as down Constitution Hill and outside the Palace, the deafening cheering never ceasing for an instant.

Got back to the Grand Entrance at twenty minutes to four, and Bertie and Alix, with their boys, took leave in the hall, going straight home. I went upstairs and stepped out on the balcony with Beatrice and my three sons, being loudly cheered. Rested on the sofa after taking some tea. Could think and talk of little else, but to-day's wonderful demonstration of loyalty and affection, from the very highest to the lowest. Felt tired by all the emotion, but it is a day that can never be forgotten!

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 27*th February* 1872.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—Many thanks for your kind letter which I have just received. I cannot tell you how gratified and touched I was by the feeling that was displayed in those crowded streets to-day towards you and also to myself.

I am glad to think that I was able to participate in to-day's most impressive ceremony, and it was a great pleasure to both of us to have been with you.

I trust that you are not very tired. I own that I am tired, but not so much as I expected. My leg, though less swollen, is very painful, and I have been on the sofa ever since my return here, and for meals also. Dear Alix is very tired and has a headache. We have postponed our departure till Saturday, and should be obliged to put it off still longer if my wretched leg is not well. . . .

Please excuse this short letter, but I do not feel up to writing any more. I remain, your dutiful and affectionate son, BERTIE.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 29*th* *Feb.* 1872.—At half past four drove in the open landau and four with Arthur, Leopold, and Jane C., the Equerries riding. We drove round Hyde and Regent's Parks, returning by Constitution Hill, and when at the Garden Entrance a dreadful thing happened, which God in His mercy averted having any evil consequences. It is difficult for me to describe, as my impression was a great fright, and all was over in a minute. How it all happened I knew nothing of. The Equerries had dismounted, Brown had got down to let down the steps, and Jane C. was just getting out, when suddenly someone appeared at my side, whom I at first imagined was a footman, going to lift off the wrapper. Then I perceived that it was someone unknown, peering above the carriage door, with an uplifted hand and a strange voice, at the same time the boys calling out and moving forward. Involuntarily, in a terrible fright, I threw myself over Jane C., calling out, "Save me," and heard a scuffle and voices! I soon recovered myself sufficiently to stand up and turn round, when I saw Brown holding a young man tightly, who was struggling, Arthur, the Equerries, etc., also near him. They laid the man on the ground and Brown kept hold of him till several of the police came in. All turned and asked if I was hurt, and I said, "Not at all." Then Lord Charles [FitzRoy], General Hardinge, and Arthur came up, saying they thought the man had dropped something. We looked, but could find nothing, when Cannon, the postilion, called out, "There it is," and looking down I then did see shining on the ground a small pistol! This filled us with horror. All were as white as sheets, Jane C. almost crying, and Leopold looked as if he were going to faint.

It is to good Brown and to his wonderful presence of mind that I greatly owe my safety, for he alone saw the boy rush round and followed him! When I was standing in the hall, General Hardinge came in, bringing an extraordinary document which this boy had intended making me sign! It was in connection with the Fenian prisoners! Sir T. Biddulph came running, greatly horrified. Then the boy was taken away by the police and made no attempt to escape. Dear Alix, who had come to take tea with me, came most affectionately to meet me in my dressing-room. She was so horrified and distressed. She said she was glad she had not been in the carriage, and that it was no pleasure being a Queen, to which I most readily agreed. Arthur soon came in, who, as well as Leopold, did all they could. Arthur said he had jumped over the side of the carriage, but that Brown had been too quick for him to catch the boy. He had tried to push his hand aside, for both Arthur and Leopold had seen the pistol pointed at me, close to my face, which neither I nor anyone else did. The pistol had not been loaded, but it easily might have been!

I sent Arthur off at once to Bertie, so that he should not hear an exaggerated account. General Hardinge went to Mr. Gladstone, Sir T. Biddulph to the Home Office, and Lord Charles FitzRoy to the Police Station. Dear Alix would not remain long, out of discretion, but was so dear and kind. How with all my heart I thank God for His great mercy, and for preserving me once again!

Windsor Castle, 1*st March.*—Numbers of people called last night and wrote their names down, also a great many this morning. The wretched boy O'Connor was to be examined this morning at the Police Court, where the Equerries as well as Brown would probably have to go.

Drove to Marlborough House, where Alix and the little boys received me, and where I saw dear Bertie, who is still not allowed to walk, suffers a good deal of pain, and does not know if he will be able to get away on the 4th, which is very tiresome. He has appointed General Probyn as his Equerry, which is a very good appointment. Took leave of dear Bertie and Alix with great regret. On returning saw Mr. Gladstone, who was dreadfully shocked at what [had] happened, and to whom I recounted the whole thing. It is so sad that such an occurrence should have come to mar the splendid effect of the 27th. It is this which distresses him so much, for it is so hard on the millions of loyal people. There was an Act for misdemeanour which he thought would meet the case; if not, it must be further altered. I said, when O'Connor's sentence had expired, he ought not to be allowed to remain in the country. Then saw Lord Granville for a moment, who was also greatly distressed. Jane C. came in to say Leopold's evidence was wanted, and I agreed to his going if Lord C. FitzRoy and Mr. Collins went with him. After luncheon wrote *the* letter which is to appear in the papers, expressing my great satisfaction at the reception on the 27th.

Left Buckingham Palace at half past four with Beatrice, Leopold, and Fanny Gainsborough, in the same carriage as yesterday. Jane C. (who kindly wished not to leave me for a few days) followed with the Equerries in the next carriage. Inside the railings stood a number of M.P.'s and Peers (who had asked to come) and a few ladies with them: Maria Lady Ailesbury, Mrs. Wellesley, Mrs. Hardinge, etc., and they cheered immensely as we drove out. I got up and stood in the carriage, till we passed through the gates. Immense crowds outside and all along the way. Immense enthusiasm. Quantities of carriages along Constitution Hill and in the Park. Numbers of ladies I knew, including Lady Granville, Constance Westminster, old Lady Rosebery with Lady Waterpark, the Duchess of Abercorn and daughter, the Bernstorffs, Dowager Lady Spencer, poor Mrs. Grey and her daughters and little grandchildren, etc. All along the Serpentine, up to Prince's Gate, the carriages were two deep, and we could hardly pass along. Was very glad to get back to Windsor, where also many people were out.

Mr. Bruce to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1*st March* 1872.—Mr. Bruce presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to inform your Majesty that the prisoner, Arthur O'Connor, was committed for trial by Sir Thomas Henry at Bow Street this day. Mr. Bruce has as yet only seen Colonel Henderson, and has had no detailed report of the trial. But he has reason to believe that the prisoner was weak-minded and perverse, the easy victim of delusion. And it seems also clear that he had no murderous intention. The pistol, at the time he was taken, was not only not loaded, but was incapable of being discharged, had it been loaded. But when he bought it, it appears to have been fit for use. It was, however, broken while in his possession, and he says, with probable truth, that he used it as an instrument of extorting compliance with his wishes by terror rather than by committing injury. No greater proof of utter folly, if not insanity, could be adduced than that he should suppose that he would be allowed sufficient time to operate upon your Majesty's fears, so as to sign his memorial, before he should be interfered with and apprehended.

As yet there is no evidence either of his connection with the Fenians, or of his being employed as the instrument of others. But further enquiry may possibly throw some light on the origin of his daring and abominable design.

No better proof could be afforded of the wisdom of Sir Robert Peel's act, under which he is committed for trial, than his visible terror at the announcement that flogging might be a part of his punishment. He was prepared to suffer as a State prisoner, but shrunk from a degrading punishment, which would make him ridiculous and contemptible.

Mr. Bruce is confirmed by the circumstances of his examination in the propriety of the course which he took in not exalting him in his own estimation, and that of others, by treating him otherwise than an ordinary malefactor. It is most important to discourage the vanity which so often inspires crimes no less than follies. . . .

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

Windsor Castle, *7th March* 1872.—Colonel Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

So many important events have so lately occurred that Colonel Ponsonby has had no opportunity of mentioning to your Majesty a conversation he had with Lord Hamilton[1] at Osborne, on the subject of the occupation of the Prince of Wales.

Lord Hamilton opened the conversation and said that he was firmly convinced that it would be necessary to find some congenial employment for his Royal Highness, to whom he had spoken more than once respecting it.

It appears that the Prince of Wales dislikes any suggestion about Ireland, and would positively refuse to go there officially in any capacity unless urged to do so by your Majesty.

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[1] Marquis of Hamilton, Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales 1866–1886, and Groom of the Stole 1886–1901. Succeeded his father as 2nd Duke of Abercorn in 1885 ; died in 1913.

Lord Hamilton said he thought that his Royal Highness wished to be attached to different offices of the Government so that he might be taught the business of the different departments. The idea may be very good but it is at present somewhat vague, and if your Majesty was pleased to entertain it, it would require to be carefully considered by your Majesty's Ministers.

The Prince of Wales is very anxious to undertake some occupation, and, Lord Hamilton thinks, would do his best in any employment that your Majesty proposed.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 19*th*–20*th March* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports that, in two telegrams from the House of Commons, he conveyed to your Majesty this evening the result of Sir C. Dilke's motion,[1] and the general feeling of the House. In truth nothing could be more satisfactory either than the division, or than the temper which prevailed with reference to the subject. Nevertheless, unfortunate circumstances intervened which will tend to mar the good done.

The House received Sir C. Dilke ill on his rising, but heard him through a speech of an hour and three-quarters, much of it very dull, with an exemplary patience. Mr. Gladstone followed, and spoke, as he believes, between thirty-five and forty minutes. The House was eager for a division; and the minority had had by far the larger share of the debate. In this state of things Mr. Auberon Herbert, a very young Member, rose to continue the debate, with a mass of papers, and declared he should persevere whatever might be the desire of the House. This created general annoyance and strong dissatisfaction, which broke out, on the Opposition side particularly, into a perfect storm, which the Speaker in vain essayed to quell. Several efforts were made to count out the House. Large numbers rose and left the House in a marked manner. At length a Member imprudently caused the reporters to be excluded. The provocation was considerable, but there was a want of self-command, and it is to be feared that the exclusion of reporters, though it was generally disapproved, will be construed outside as a proof of a disposition to stifle free discussion. Mr. Gladstone has thus described the scene as well as he could: it is probable that more may be said of it. He certainly has never seen a more gratuitous, deliberate, and provoking attempt and determination of an inexperienced Member to set at nought what may be called the unanimous desire of the House.

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[1] The motion was for an enquiry into the Civil List, and was rejected by 276 votes to 2. See Introductory Note.

Mr. Gladstone left the House at ten, after the division, not being quite well.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, *8th May* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet met this day for the purpose of considering further the state of the American communications. What between the want of authority for the suggestions tendered by General Schenck,[1] the delay and uncertainty of the telegrams despatched to and fro in cypher at great length, and the apparently slippery position of the American Government, the form of proceeding in the matter of the Washington Treaty is of extreme difficulty and complication; and hours are given almost every day to the consideration of matter which on the following day is found to have moved out of view. At the same time the fact remains that the substance of the controversy seems to have been disposed of, and it may therefore be hoped that we shall escape from that labyrinth of mere expression in which at present we are detained.

[1] The American Minister in London.

The German Empress[1] to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 13*th May* 1872.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—How shall I thank you? You have met me with an affection from the moment of my arrival until I left, which I shall *never* forget, and you have made my stay with you in every way so *pleasant* and *agreeable* that I can only say with deepest emotion: may God reward you for it! It is a rare blessing to possess a real bond of friendship in our high station—which so many are inclined to envy, but the burden of which *we* know! to be able to speak openly and feel ourselves bound to each other by mutual confidence. This blessing has fallen to my lot, and I recognise it with sincere gratitude. Also for me this time which we have spent together has been *peculiarly* happy. I have truly *enjoyed* our simple peaceful intercourse, and was constantly aware how much I am indebted to you; for it is impossible to be received more cordially and to be treated more kindly than I have been by you. Therefore this time, in connection with so many dear reminiscences, will always be cherished by me, and you may make use of me, not merely doing so in the ordinary sense of the word, but looking upon me as a true friend, whose thoughts and feelings will always be with you! God bless you, and may He permit us both to have the pleasure of a future reunion! . . . Ever your grateful and faithful sister and friend, AUGUSTA.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13*th*–14*th May* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet met to-day to consider the American communications, and the general form which

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[1] Her Majesty had been on a visit to Queen Victoria at Windsor. The Queen wrote in her Journal under date 13th May: "She has been so kind and amiable, so pleased with everything, and easy to entertain. I value her friendship much, as she is such a superior person, and really attached to me."

H.M. Augusta Queen of Prussia
and German Empress.
From a picture by F. Winterhalter.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Hither Green
BRANCH

Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and he himself in the House of Commons, were to give to the statements which in conformity with the engagement of the Government were to be officially made. It was decided that the time for presenting papers had not yet arrived; that Parliament should be apprised of the opinion formed by the Cabinet in January, to the effect that this country could not allow of the submission of the indirect claims to the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva; that the course of the correspondence should be generally described, down to yesterday, when the tidings were received that the article framed by the Cabinet on Friday was to be submitted this day by the President to the Senate; and in these circumstances the two Houses should be urged still to maintain their forbearance.

At the commencement of business Mr. Gladstone spoke in conformity with this general outline to the House of Commons. His statement was favourably received, including his suggestion that silence should still be observed, and that the House should adjourn for Whitsuntide as had been intended. When he sat down Mr. Disraeli rose and, correctly interpreting the general effect of his statement, observed that it left no room for doubt, and that he would at once recommend compliance with the views of the Ministry. He reserved his right to consider their conduct and to pass judgment upon the article which had been transmitted to Washington; and he expressed a hope that there would be no unnecessary delay in the presentation of papers. Of this Mr. Gladstone immediately gave an explicit assurance.

Nothing could be more equitable and considerate, or more conducive to the public interest at this juncture, than the language held by Mr. Disraeli. No other person spoke; and the House proceeded to resume the consideration of the Ballot Bill, on report. This was disposed of, after some divisions, about nine o'clock. . . .

Mr. Gladstone cannot conclude without expressing to your Majesty his humble but lively sense of your Majesty's great kindness in proposing, as he understood from Lord Granville this morning, to present him with a residence at Blackheath for the remaining term of his life. In an ordinary state of affairs he would not have asked for any time before replying to this most gracious offer; but in the present crisis of the American negotiations he will presume to ask for a day or two that he [may] have an opportunity of introducing the subject to his wife, and of conversing and reflecting with her upon it.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 16*th May*.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty and, though he was anxious not to decline a gracious offer from your Majesty, without full and special consideration, feels that he would not be warranted in withholding any longer his reply. With the renewed expression of his gratitude for a favour to which he had no claim, and with a full appreciation of the many and special advantages of the residence at Blackheath, which he well remembers, he asks nevertheless to be permitted not to accept your Majesty's kindness; for reasons purely domestic and personal to himself, with which it is quite unnecessary to trouble your Majesty.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 22*nd May* 1872.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen is surprised that the despatches addressed by you to Lord Lyons on the 10th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, with reference to the expatriated Communists, should have been sent without having been previously submitted to her, which in case of necessity might have been done by telegraph.

At the same time her Majesty wishes you to know that she entirely approves these despatches, and trusts that the subject will not be allowed to drop, and that you will again remonstrate with the French Government on their proceedings.

Considering that our Colonial Governments positively reject convicts sent from England, it seems hard that we in England should be compelled to receive French convicts.

The Queen hopes that some steps of the nature indicated in the concluding paragraph of your despatch of the 16th May may be adopted, or that some means should be devised to protect this country from the dangers consequent on the presence of a large number of daring and turbulent men, driven to desperation by poverty and wretchedness.

Her Majesty has desired me to enquire of Mr. Bruce whether he knows anything of the proceedings of these men in London. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Bruce to Colonel Ponsonby.

ABERDARE, *25th May* 1872.

DEAR COLONEL PONSONBY,—The proceedings of the French Communists in London are closely watched and fully known.

There are many of them living peacefully, and endeavouring to earn a livelihood; others are busy in political intrigues, and are ready for any mischief. They ally themselves with the International Society, the foreign members of which have undoubtedly political objects in view of a very revolutionary character. But the International Society is at this moment in a state of civil war, which threatens disruption, and its members are more intent upon overthrowing Karl Marx, its President, and the general Committee, than upon any external action.

Again, Bradlaugh and his immediate friends, who represent the revolutionary English democrats, are at open warfare with the International Society, and the result is that there is little cordiality between the French Communists and the English democrats.

I can therefore answer the Queen's question "whether they have connected themselves with the political parties here, which are known for their extreme opinions," in the negative.

They keep up constant communication with the Communists throughout France and Europe. They watch with intense interest every English movement, and attach, with true French impetuosity and rashness, the most exaggerated importance to every social incident in this country, such as the agricultural strike,[1] and the proceedings of the Trades Unions. These movements being in France more or less connected with political objects, they naturally suppose that the same connection exists in England. This, I need not say, is a complete misunderstanding of English character and motives of action. In fact, ever since the connection between the International Society and the French Communists was ascertained, the influence and numbers of that Society have declined in this country. Political discontent has no root here, and the opinions of the French Communists gain very few converts, and those almost entirely among a set of political speculators, not of the working-class.

In the meantime the French Communists in England are generally on the verge of starvation They are too much occupied in obtaining the means of mere subsistence to have much time or spirit for propagandism.

I trust, however, that the strong remonstrances of Lord Granville will have the effect of preventing any further connivance by the French Government with the deportation of convicted Communists into this country. Ever sincerely yours, H. A. BRUCE.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL CASTLE, 25*th May* 1872.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The King of Denmark has expressed his desire to confer on Dr. Poore (the Prince of Wales's travelling physician) a Danish Order as a token of his gratitude for the attention shown to Princess Thyra during her late severe illness.

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[1] The movement under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Arch.

The Prince of Wales considers that it would be discourteous to refuse Dr. Poore the permission to accept this Order, and her Majesty thinks that in an exceptional case of this nature leave should be granted to Dr. Poore to receive and wear the Order.

Her Majesty hopes, therefore, that you will give the required permission. Yours very truly, Henry F. Ponsonby.

Earl Granville to Colonel Ponsonby.

Holmbury, 25*th May* 1872.

My dear Ponsonby,—I am exceedingly reluctant to decline giving any advice which the Queen desires to have, but I believe the present rule as to the permission to be given by her Majesty to persons to wear honours, which have been given them by foreign Sovereigns, is an excellent one. Queen Elizabeth said, "My dogs shall wear no collars, but mine own," and I believe there was a time when the Emperor of the French might have exercised a considerable influence on the House of Commons, by a judicious distribution of *Légions d'Honneur*.

The question was carefully examined by the Cabinet last autumn, and we were unanimously of opinion that any further exceptions would make the rule impossible. If asked whether the permission to Dr. Poore was given by the Queen on my advice, I do not know what answer I could possibly give to the scores, or rather hundreds, of persons who applied for leave to wear Orders given during the last two years.

The Continental Sovereigns do not like the restriction, and constantly try to evade it.

If a foreign physician cured one of the Queen's children, her Majesty would give him a fee, and possibly a present; a foreign Sovereign very naturally prefers his own habit of conferring an honour, but that is hardly a reason why the Queen should depart from her own consistent and dignified policy.

I will bring the matter before the Cabinet to-morrow, and if they think an exception ought to be made, I will at once telegraph it. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

The Marquis of Ripon to Earl Granville.

BALMORAL CASTLE [26*th May* 1872].—The Queen commands me to inform you that her Majesty trusts that the amendments proposed by the Senate will be considered with an anxious desire to bring about a settlement of the question, and that the Cabinet may find it possible to accept them.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27*th May* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acquaints your Majesty that the Cabinet met this day to consider the terms of the draft article as retransmitted from America in the form approved by the Senate. It required unhappily little time or discussion to establish the fact that the amendments are inadmissible. It may be in some degree open to doubt whether the faults they present are due to accident and haste, or to design. The Cabinet think it essential that their engagement for the future shall not be of a character wholly vague and abstract, but shall have reference to the scope of the present case and of the arguments they have held upon it. They agree upon words for amending the amendments in this sense, and Lord Granville will lose no time in making known their views. Your Majesty may rely on their continuing to use every endeavour for the conclusion of a satisfactory arrangement.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*]

BALMORAL, 29*th May* 1872.—The intelligence contained in Lord Granville's telegrams to Lord Ripon has been received with much regret. There appears to be no probability that the alterations proposed by the Cabinet in the amendments of Senate will be accepted by the United States, so that an entire failure of the negotiation seems to be imminent. Will not such a failure now produce great irritation in the United States? The responsibility of breaking off the negotiations now and destroying the Treaty of last year is very serious. If further time is required, would it be possible to obtain the consent of the United States Government to an adjournment of the meeting of the arbitrators?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

London, 30*th May* 1872 (12.30 p.m.).—We have been careful to avoid the appearance of an ultimatum, or doing anything which might tend to rupture, and we have indicated distinctly our willingness to take more time.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 30*th*–31*st May* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, refers to the telegram which he despatched this forenoon in cypher to your Majesty, respecting the Treaty of Washington.

A long telegraphic communication, addressed by Mr. Fish to General Schenck, was received by Lord Granville in the evening, and a Cabinet was held upon it at ten o'clock. The Cabinet decided upon tendering another version of the article, which was thereupon drawn under the advice of Sir R. Palmer and the Law Officers, and which they hope may prove acceptable to the Government of the United States.

They have much reason to complain of the conduct of that Government, which appears to be directed by considerations belonging to the sphere of its own domestic policy, and to the contentions of party in that sphere: but they will endeavour by patient consideration, avoidance of self-laudation and of irritating topics, and a steady endeavour to be right, to attain the great end in view of an honourable settlement which it would be a sad disgrace as well as misfortune to both countries now to miss.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.*

Confidential.

BALMORAL, 1*st June* 1872.—The Queen understands that Lord Russell contemplates moving for certain papers on Tuesday next, with a view of condemning the conduct of the Government with respect to the American Treaty.

On this point the Queen gives no opinion, but she cannot help asking Lord Russell if he thinks it advisable in the present critical state of affairs to weaken the position of the Government; and if after mature consideration Lord Russell finds that he agrees with the Queen, she feels sure that it is superfluous for her to appeal to his patriotism in order to induce him to postpone his motion till the Government are in a position to give an account of their conduct.

The Queen writes this without the knowledge of any of her Ministers, as she does not mean it as an appeal for any particular party, but as a claim which she thinks she can fairly make, on behalf of the dignity and honour of the country, to an old friend who has long and faithfully served his Sovereign.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

PEMBROKE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK [*June* 1872].—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He has no intention of moving any vote of censure on your Majesty's Ministers, nor will he move for papers with that view, even if he thinks it necessary to move for papers for the information of Parliament.

But he will move to-morrow that your Majesty's representatives ought not to proceed with the

Arbitration at Geneva unless the claims, which your Majesty was pleased to declare in February last were understood not to be included in the claims, were previously withdrawn.

He considers this course necessary to maintain your Majesty's honour as well as that of the nation.

Lord Russell humbly thanks your Majesty for this mark of gracious consideration.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 10*th*–11*th June* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone reports with his humble duty that the new proposal, sent by telegraph to America through General Schenck in pursuance of the deliberations of the Cabinet on Saturday, was answered to-day by a refusal couched, like some other recent papers from the Government of the United States, in terms of scant courtesy and bordering upon harshness.

The Cabinet met in consequence at half past two and considered what alternatives, if any, it still remained open to them to pursue. The choice had indeed become very narrow. They determined, after hearing Sir Roundell Palmer, the counsel in the case, to ask on their own responsibility for an adjournment at Geneva, without putting in the argument contemplated by the Treaty, and giving notice to the American Government of their intention. They propose to inform Parliament generally of the state of affairs to-morrow, and to lay the papers up to this date during the week. . . .

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Spencer.

[*Copy.*] Balmoral, 13*th June* 1872.

Dear Lord Spencer,—I am commanded by the Queen to thank you for your letter containing the account of the outrage perpetrated in Dublin,[1] and to assure you that her Majesty is much grieved at the annoyance it has caused your Excellency and Lady Spencer.

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[1] An attempt, only partially successful, to blow up by gunpowder the statue of the Prince Consort in the Leinster Lawn, Dublin.

I cannot conceal from you that the disgraceful occurrence has very much vexed the Queen; and although it may have been the consequence of any of the causes you mention, the perpetrator of such an outrage and the impunity with which such acts are committed, deeply distress her Majesty and oblige her to look with more anxiety than ever upon the state of affairs in Ireland.

In the letter written by Mr. Boyle at your desire, he alluded to the encouragement given to lawless persons by the Fenian Press. The Queen would be glad to learn from your Excellency whether no mode of checking this evil can be devised, and whether the newspapers so offending do not come within the reach of the exceptional powers which you possess. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Spencer to Queen Victoria.

DUBLIN, 15*th June* 1872.—Lord Spencer presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is anxious to express his gratitude for the great kindness of your Majesty in telegraphing to him, and further in writing to him on the subject of his letter of the 10th June.

The annoyance to your Majesty must be very great, and Lord and Lady Spencer feel deeply the consideration which your Majesty has shown to them in this very disgraceful affair.

Lord Spencer cannot but admit that there is much in these outrages which discourage a Royal State visit to Dublin; at the same time with great submission Lord Spencer states that the two last Royal visits, notwithstanding the subsequent drawbacks, have had a real and genuine good effect. They drew out the loyalty of a large body of citizens, and encouraged very materially those who oppose Fenianism and rowdyism.

The longer Lord Spencer remains in Ireland, the more convinced he is of the power of personal influence over the Irish. The people require to see the person, or the nearest representative of the person to whom they are bound to give allegiance, and when they do get the opportunity their good feelings and loyalty are drawn out and developed. At the risk of drawbacks like the lamentable outrages now in question, Lord Spencer would earnestly continue to urge a continuance of Royal visits, as one of the most effectual means of winning the Irish to love for the Throne and English rule. Nothing would be so effectual as a Royal residence.

Lord Spencer has lately seen this very strongly in different parts of the country which he has visited; at Kinsale, Co. Cork, the gratitude of the people for a visit to an Industrial School of your Majesty's representative was shown by enthusiastic loyalty, and this week the same feeling was shown in the North.

The effects of your Majesty's early visit to Ireland are by no means gone; among all classes and creeds your Majesty was then adored, but unluckily the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill among the Catholics did away with some of this feeling, but Lord Spencer is sure that it still exists strongly, and only requires an opportunity to spring up again in the fullest force.

In regard to the Fenian Press to which your Majesty refers through Colonel Ponsonby, Lord Spencer has to say that its tone and teaching is very poisonous, leading the people on to dislike to England and British Government; it seldom, if ever, however, brings itself within reach of the law. As your Majesty is aware, the present Government introduced a measure which confers on the Lord-Lieutenant power of dealing exceptionally with the Press in case of seditious writing or incitements to murder. Under these powers Lord Spencer frequently seizes newspapers written in the United States, and prevents their circulation: Lord Spencer about two months ago used the other powers given under the same Act, against a provincial paper, the *Leinster Independent*, which defended the assassination of Lord Mayo. The first warning which by law must be given to a paper before it can be seized has had the effect of muzzling that newspaper. Lord Spencer assures your Majesty that he very anxiously watches these matters, for he knows what a serious influence the Press has upon a half-educated, politics-loving, and excitable people. He does not think that more can be done to check this evil. The gradual expansion of good feeling which contentment, absence of grievances, and prosperity must eventually promote under a just Government, is what must be looked to as a remedy to the evil of the Press.

Lord Spencer would wish to see an antidote to the poison found in a sound and sensible cheap Press, but although efforts have been made to establish such a means of influencing the people, they have hitherto failed from want of funds.

Lord Spencer, when he reaches London, is going to make a new attempt to get something done in this description, but the task is delicate and difficult to manage.

The mainspring of all Irish discontent is the long-standing feeling of oppression and injustice, of which Lord Spencer feels that England in many cases was guilty towards Ireland in former days. It will take many years to remove altogether this feeling, but Lord Spencer believes that it will eventually be done by patient dealing and careful attention to the wants of the Irish, and even by concession to some of their sentimental views as to personal neglect, etc.

Lord Spencer prays your Majesty's forgiveness for thus writing, but he has during his residence in Ireland become so anxious for and devoted to the cause of Ireland, that he cannot forbear from submitting his opinions, though with utmost submission, to your Majesty, for he is very confident as to the improvement which already has taken place in the country, and sanguine as to the future settlement of the country.

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

Lambeth Palace, 19*th June* 1872.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Having heard with the deepest regret of the sad calamity of Dr. Norman Macleod's death, the Archbishop cannot refrain from expressing to your Majesty the sense he entertains of the great loss which the country has sustained in the removal of one so large-hearted, zealous, and gifted. The Archbishop would express his conviction also that your Majesty has lost a most valuable counsellor by the death of one who knew so well the state, and also the feelings, of the people of that portion of the United Kingdom in the Established Church of which he was so greatly and justly honoured.

The Archbishop has addressed a letter of condolence to the Moderator of the Established Church of Scotland, well knowing how much that Church has suffered by this loss, and how intimately any event like this, which affects the Church of Scotland, must be regarded as a loss to the Church of England also.

Dr. Norman Macleod indeed belonged to the whole Church of Christ, and will be lamented everywhere.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Helps.

[*Copy.*]

Windsor Castle, 20*th June* 1872 (*my* accession day *thirty-five years ago*).—The Queen is much overcome and overpowered with the heat, and must keep as quiet as she can. The journey up was frightfully hot.

But what has upset the Queen and made her feel quite ill the last three days is the (to her) unexpected death of her dear beloved and highly gifted friend Dr. Macleod! Many bitter tears has she shed over his loss, and feels she is *poorer* again in this weary world without him! She saw him generally only twice a year, at dear Balmoral, sometimes even only once, but she looked eagerly forward to those meetings, for those words of love and truth and wisdom which remained in her heart to strengthen and comfort and cheer her. And now *that* is *gone!* She felt in religious things she could ask him *anything*; in trials and sorrows, doubts and anxieties, she could ask his opinion and advice, and it was ever lovingly, wisely, kindly given! . . .

There was in beloved Norman Macleod such geniality with true piety, and the *strongest belief*, the largest, widest Christian love, and the greatest love of nature, its beauties, and true appreciation of poetry. He had besides the enthusiasm, and adoration for, and admiration of his dear country, which every *true* Highlander—and he *was* a thorough Highlander—has!

This character naturally found the strongest response and sympathy in the Queen's heart and feelings! And to think that she is *never*, *never* to see his dear, kind face and hear his kind voice again, is terrible to her. But to use the words of a poor woman whom the Queen visited near Balmoral the other day, and whose two little boys were drowned on the 11th in the Dee: "We must try and bear it; we must trust to the Almighty." . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st June* 1872.—Down to Frogmore for breakfast, after which I took a good walk, and then sat out and wrote. After luncheon saw Lord Granville, who hoped that the American question would be settled satisfactorily at Geneva. He feared the Lords had altered the Ballot so much that it would cause difficulty with the House of Commons. Lord Granville introduced the new French Ambassador, the Comte d'Harcourt. Then saw the Duke of Argyll, who said there was a hitch about the Burmese Envoys, who did not want to prostrate themselves in their customary fashion when appearing before any Sovereign. As Empress of India, I must insist on this, otherwise I could not receive them. After waiting a few minutes, Lord Sydney came back to say all was right, and I went into the Throne Room, with the children and all the ladies and gentlemen. Full dress and Orders were worn. Received the Ambassadors, four in number, who knelt down at the door, walked up and knelt again at the foot of the Throne, bowing their heads to the ground. An Address was read, which the first Ambassador laid at my feet, as well as a lacquer box containing some presents. After bowing and expressing my thanks, they retired. We opened the box, containing three smaller ones sealed up in bags, which were cut open. In them were two very handsome gold bangles studded with rubies, and a girdle to match.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 27*th June* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports to your Majesty that he this day, in concert with Lord Granville, gave a narrative to the House of Commons of the proceedings of and before the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva. He read the material portions of the documents; with a summary of the telegrams of to-day, which record the final conclusion of the controversy, by the wise conduct of the Arbitrators, and the final acquiescence of the Government of the United States. The disappearance of the now famous indirect claims by a process independent of British action, and as complete as it is spontaneous, appeared to give much satisfaction to the House; and such questions or doubts as suggested themselves on the moment were without difficulty disposed of.

Mr. Gladstone also stated that the Government would, rather than lose the Ballot Bill, be prepared to accept the principle of scrutiny in an altered form, together with certain other amendments made by the Lords; but that it would be their duty to disagree to a larger number of them, and that as they stood they were regarded by our Government as absolutely destructive of the Bill. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *28th–29th June* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that, at the meeting of the House of Commons to-day, various questions were put with relation to Judge Keogh,[1] the Galway election, and a vehement speech of Lord Granard, a Lord-Lieutenant, in condemnation of the Judge. Mr. Gladstone stated that the Government would watch over the safety of the Judge, and the vindication of the law; but would not go beyond these duties into matters of discretion, or of opinion, at any rate until the whole subject should by the printing of evidence be duly placed before the House and the public.

A debate of some spirit then arose upon the general character of the Lords' Amendments, and the disposition of the country with respect to Secret Voting. Mr. Disraeli contended that there was no public desire for it, and that the Amendments made the Bill comprehensive and consistent. In replying to Mr. Disraeli on the subject, Mr. Gladstone took an opportunity, which was offered him, of acknowledging the signal prudence of Mr. Disraeli during the anxious period of the controversy with [the] United States, and the value of the example he had set.

A division was taken, in a full House, upon the first Amendment [2] of the Lords, altering an important principle of the Bill, when the numbers were against the Amendment (with the Government) 302, and for it 234.

The next division was on the most serious of the concessions proposed to be made to the House of Lords, namely, the introduction of the principle of scrutiny, which a portion of the Radical section felt themselves compelled to object to. The numbers were, for conceding the principle of scrutiny 382, against it 137.

Two of the Amendments made by the Lords, to which the Government were willing, though reluctantly, to agree, were rejected by the general feeling of the House.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] Making the ballot optional.

There was not sufficient time to dispose of the whole of the Amendments, and the consideration of them is to be resumed on Monday night: but there was a general prevalence of satisfaction, and a conciliatory spirit, and, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, there is every prospect of an early and easy settlement of this important Bill. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, *4th July* 1872.— . . . Had some music in the Red Drawing-room, to which my three children, Lenchen, and the ladies and some of the gentlemen came. Adelina Patti, the famous prima donna, now the favourite, since the last six years, Messrs. Faure and Capoul, sang, Mr. Cusins accompanying them on the piano. I was charmed with Patti, who has a very sweet voice and wonderful facility and execution. She sings very quietly and is a very pretty ladylike little thing. The duet with Faure was quite lovely, and her rendering of "Home, Sweet Home" was touching beyond measure, and quite brought tears to one's eyes. Faure has a very fine baritone voice. Capoul, tenor, I cared less for.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, *6th July* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the Cabinet has to-day considered at much length the situation of affairs, and their own duty, with reference to the movement intended by the Opposition in the House of Lords on Monday. They arrived at the conclusion that, if the House of Lords should reaffirm the strange provision for optional secrecy, an adjournment should be asked for; and, unless the circumstances were such as to give hope of their yielding at a further stage, the Government, though anxious to concur in any reasonable plan of accommodation, would then decide on refusing to remain charged with the responsibility of further prosecuting the Bill. In this case, your Majesty's Servants would in all likelihood advise making another trial of the question by a fresh appeal to the House of Lords in an autumn Session; but of course, if that trial should fail, there would remain nothing but the last alternatives to consider. The Cabinet deem it quite out of the question to recommence the Bill as part of the ordinary business of the Session of 1873.

The Cabinet considered a variety of other matters of business, chiefly with reference to pending Parliamentary proceedings on the measures of the Session.

There is, however, shortly coming on, a subject which may be productive of much evil beyond the temporary embarrassment it brings with it. In denouncing the grave mischief of priestly intimidation in Ireland, Judge Keogh has by his language quitted altogether the character of a Judge, and glided into that of a heated and angry partisan. It will, of course, be the duty of the Government to furnish him with the most efficient protection, and also to prosecute all those whom the enquiry before him may show to have been guilty of illegal practices, whatever may be their position or profession. But there may remain a possibility, though it is hoped a very remote one, of outrage in connection with such a cause of excitement, and without doubt new food has been ministered to the causes of distrust between classes in Ireland, and a fresh blow struck at the growing popular confidence in the administration of justice.

Memorandum: Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10*th July* 1872.—Mr. Helps is humbly recommended by Mr. Gladstone to be a Civil Knight Commander of the Bath. In making this recommendation, Mr. Gladstone has special regard to the marks of confidence with which Mr. Helps has been honoured by your Majesty. Mr. Helps is not aware of this submission.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 11*th*–12*th July* 1872.— . . . Mr. Gladstone is happy to report that the Government, acting on its conclusions of yesterday, has arrived at an understanding with the Leaders of Opposition in the House of Lords, and that the proposals they will accordingly submit to the House of Commons to-morrow will, as they have reason to believe, be accepted as the fitting settlement of the question.[1] Mr. Gladstone wishes to add that he has grounds to suppose he was wrong in submitting that Mr. Disraeli was not a party to the Amendments as they were originally made in the Bill by the House of Lords.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 23*rd July* 1872.—There is a curious law in the Isle of Man, by which I am obliged to sign the order for the execution of criminals, which the Sovereign never does in England. I have had to sign this warrant for the first and I hope last time in my life. The case is that of a man[2] who had killed his father.

25*th July*.—Dreadfully shocked by a telegram from Joinville, saying that poor little Guise had died this morning of scarlet fever, after only three days' illness ! How dreadful for poor Aumale, losing his last surviving child, out of eight born to him ! There he is, now quite alone, with his great riches and possessions, and no children to inherit them. In six years he has lost his dear excellent wife and two grown-up sons ! What a terrible tragedy !

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

Osborne, 27*th July* 1872.—The Queen has not alluded to Mr. Ayrton's proceedings as yet, as she thinks it best to wait till the motion on his extraordinary treatment of Dr. Hooker has taken place.

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[1] Of the ballot.

[2] John Kewish by name. The Queen had been relieved of all personal responsibility in regard to the criminal law in England by an Act passed in the year of her Accession.

But Mr. Gladstone will doubtless be prepared for the nature of the Queen's communication when the time arrives for making it.

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 1*st Aug.* 1872.—Colonel Ponsonby humbly begs leave to assure your Majesty that the American officers were extremely delighted with the honour they had had, and General Sherman and the Admiral especially were profuse in their expressions of joy at the reception your Majesty had so graciously accorded them. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 8*th*–9*th Aug.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that the House of Commons . . . to-day at the commencement of business became engaged, unawares and without notice, in a discussion on the controversy between Mr. Ayrton and Dr. Hooker.[1] . . .

Mr. Ayrton in his relations with others has caused Mr. Gladstone on many occasions so much of care and labour, that, if he had the same task to encounter in the cases of a few other Members of the Government, his office would become intolerable. And further, in one case at least, the recent conduct of Mr. Ayrton has given great and special dissatisfaction to the Cabinet.

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[1] Mr. Ayrton was First Commissioner of Works, and Dr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Hooker, F.R.S., and for a term P.R.S., a very distinguished man of science, was Director of Kew Gardens. For details of the dispute see *Life of Hooker*, by Leonard Huxley. *The Dictionary of National Biography* says that Mr. Ayrton, as First Commissioner, "came into personal conflict with numerous men of eminence with whom his official duties brought him into contact." Not only did he treat Sir Joseph Hooker as a market gardener, but he dealt with Alfred Stevens, the sculptor, as if he were a negligent contractor, and pursued such a policy of parsimony in regard to the new Law Courts, then in course of erection, as even to cut down the remuneration of the architect, G. E. Street. He was defeated at the General Election of 1874, and never succeeded in entering Parliament again.

But on the other side there are two important considerations to be weighed. One of them is that, before a public servant of this class can properly be dismissed, there must be not only a sufficient case against him, but a case of which the sufficiency can be made intelligible and palpable [to] the world. But the other is that Mr. Ayrton, although some of his faults may be very serious, yet is, as towards the nation, an upright, assiduous, and able functionary.

Such being the general case with respect to Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Gladstone will add that he is not cognisant of the manner in which he has demeaned himself in his more direct relations with your Majesty, but if his conduct has been unsatisfactory in these relations it is a matter of very deep regret to Mr. Gladstone, and one which he will carefully bear in mind.

The controversy with Dr. Hooker was taken up with a somewhat undue and narrow vehemence on behalf of Dr. Hooker, first by the gentlemen (in general) who claim for themselves exclusively the title of men of science, and by the London Press. It is easy to foresee that in this, like all cases which are overdone, there would be a reaction. And the reaction has been strengthened by signs appearing to show that the opponents of Mr. Ayrton in the two Houses abated their ardour as the time for action approached. Finally, the question was very imprudently brought forward to-night by Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Bernal Osborne, without notice, and thus in a manner which gave Mr. Ayrton a good ostensible ground of complaint, while at the same time, having his mind full of the subject, he was enabled to deliver a powerful and incisive, though it was also in parts an acrimonious, reply.

The consequence of all this is, as far as Mr. Gladstone can judge at the time, that Mr. Ayrton has enlisted a considerable amount of Parliamentary feeling in his favour, and that, although some may condemn him strongly, his position is not materially weakened.

As respects Dr. Hooker, he suffered to-day at once by feeble advocacy and by sharp invective. Mr. Gladstone found the position very difficult, but endeavoured as well as he could to restore it, and to leave Mr. Ayrton and Dr. Hooker respectively in such relations to one another that they might be enabled, after reasonable steps should have been taken, to set aside the recollection of what has passed, and to live peaceably together in the discharge of their public duties respectively.

Mr. Gladstone has entered into these details, on account of the interest expressed by your Majesty in this subject.

Between nine and ten in the evening, the debate was resumed on the motion of Mr. Butt for the removal of Mr. Justice Keogh from the Bench; but under circumstances of great unreality, as the object was rather the delivery of speeches by Irish Members as a debt to their constituents, than the attainment of any practical purpose. Sir Robert Peel spoke with great animation on behalf of Justice Keogh, and with little of the eccentricity which often marks him, while his noble voice and real force of delivery, far exceeding his mental power, rarely fail to produce some impression on the House. Mr. Osborne Morgan, a Liberal lawyer, delivered a speech damaging enough to the reputation of Justice Keogh for judicial impartiality. In truth this reputation it is totally impossible to sustain so far as the Galway judgment is concerned.

Lord Hartington succinctly stated the views of the Government, in conformity with what had been stated on the first night of the debate.

At three o'clock a motion was made for the further adjournment of the debate. But after a time this motion was withdrawn, and shortly before four o'clock the question was put on the motion of Mr. Butt, when the numbers were for the motion 23 and against it 125. A weaker motion of censure, proposed by Mr. Pim, was then put from the Chair, but as only one teller could be found in favour of the motion, it fell to the ground.

The House then adjourned at four o'clock.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 11*th Aug.* 1872.—The Queen was sorry not to see Mr. Gladstone before leaving, but she quite understood the difficulty of his coming here now. If he should be at any time in the neighbourhood of Balmoral, viz. at Fasque,[1] perhaps he could come over there for two or three days.

With regard to Mr. Ayrton, the Queen must repeat that she does feel very strongly upon the subject. She never would have agreed to his appointment had she been aware that he had made the very offensive speech he did,[2] and the Queen only consented to his being appointed on the condition that he should be removed on the very first occasion that he misbehaved himself. And this Mr. Gladstone *promised*. . . .

It is not on account of herself alone that she asks that he should be moved before next Session to another post, but for the honour of the Government and the country, both of which suffer seriously from having such a man in such a position.

Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bruce, and almost every other Member of the Government, not to speak of the Queen's own people, would, the Queen feels sure, agree in this.

It may be difficult to move him, but some place in the Colonies where vacancies are constantly occurring should be found for him.[1]

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[1] The Scottish seat of Sir Thomas Gladstone, Mr. Gladstone's eldest brother.

[2] See vol. i, p. 290. The words which Mr. Ayrton used on 4th December, 1866, when he was publicly rebuked by Mr. Bright, were reported thus: "He could not help regretting that when the assemblage [a great Reform demonstration] was in one of her Majesty's parks and in front of her palace, she should not have been so well advised as to have enjoyed the gratifying spectacle of looking upon her loyal people. He must confess he thought it was one of the duties of Royalty to show a feeling of sympathy for the living as well as an affectionate reverence for the memory of the dead."

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, 15*th Sept.* 1872.—Colonel Ponsonby with his humble duty begs leave to say he does not clearly understand that part of Reuter's telegram which states that the Chief Justice refused to sign the protocol;[2] but it is evident that the decision has been accepted by all parties. That it is unpleasant to be condemned to pay three millions cannot be denied, but the judgment seems on the whole to be fair, and as the United States direct claims alone amounted to forty millions, we have much the best of the decision.

Had the Arbitrators entirely acquitted us and condemned us to pay nothing, the feeling in the United States would have been very bitter, and they might have sought some pretext for a new quarrel. As it is, however, it may be hoped that all bad feeling arising out of the late war will be obliterated. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 23*rd Sept.* 1872.—Can I write it? My own darling, *only* sister, my dear excellent, noble Feodore is no more! She is at rest and in peace since two this morning. What a fearful loss! Darling precious sister, whom I hoped so to go and see! The kind Empress Augusta telegraphed the news to me in a most feeling manner, and I got the telegram just after I came back from Abergeldie, where I had gone to see the preparations for Bertie's welcome.

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[1] Mr. Gladstone, in a long reply on the 15th August, wrote that he had believed that the Queen had "graciously condoned" Mr. Ayrton's offence in the speech of 1866. He himself had no illusions about Mr. Ayrton; but "misconduct which is to be the ground of removal should be such as can be publicly stated in the form of a definite charge." He believed his colleagues generally concurred in his view of the case, but he would not speak for Mr. Lowe: "Truth compels him to state that between these two gentlemen the grounds for just complaint are reciprocal." He would look out for an opportunity of exchanging Mr. Ayrton's office.

[2] Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British Arbitrator, dissented from his colleagues' decision, and wrote a long separate judgment of his own.

This was to have been and is still a day of rejoicing for all the good Balmoral people, on account of dear Bertie's first return after his illness; and I am here in sorrow and grief, unable to join in the welcome. God's will be done, but the loss to me is too dreadful! I stand so alone now, no near and dear one near my own age, or older, to whom I could look up to, left! *All, all* gone! She was my *last* near relative on an equality with me, the *last* link with my childhood and youth. My dear children, so kind and affectionate, but no one can really help me. Wrote a few lines with a trembling hand to the kind Empress.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

Balmoral, 22*nd Oct.* 1872.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for various accounts of the Cabinets held. . . .

A subject which demands the most serious attention of the Government is the very *alarming* and *increasing insecurity* of the Railroads. The Queen has repeatedly spoken and written about this, but she thinks that nothing has yet been done by Government which tends to remedy this most *alarming* subject. Legislation is applied to *every possible* subject, but the one *fully as important* as Education, viz. the *safety of human life*, seems to be *much less thought of than any other*. In NO country except ours are there so many dreadful accidents, and for the poor people who have to travel constantly by rail, and who cannot even have the comparative security which those who travel in first-class carriages *can* have, to be in perpetual danger of their lives is monstrous. Independent of this, the Queen's own family, not to speak of her servants and visitors, are in perpetual danger, and are put to the *most serious inconvenience* by the inexactitude of the trains.

Princess Louise and Lord Lorne arrived *two hours* late, Prince Arthur's train was one hour and a half late, the Prince of Wales's children were two hours late.

It is so crying an evil and is becoming so *serious* that the Queen is perfectly *determined* to *insist* on the subject meeting with the most serious consideration of the Government. There ought to be fewer trains, and punctuality, and other remedies to prevent the *possibility* of accidents like the one dreadful one on the 2nd instant.[1]

Pray let this letter be seen by the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 24*th Oct.* 1872.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and will at once circulate in the Cabinet the letter he has had the honour this day to receive.

Your Majesty may rest assured that the Cabinet will carefully consider the questions relating to Railways during what remains of the present year; and the attitude of Parliament will of necessity be drawn to them in the Session of 1873.

The irregularity of trains has during this season become a crying evil, and a manifest source of dangers which it is of great public importance to avert.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 27*th October* 1872.

MY DEAR MAMA,—You have, on more than one occasion, mentioned to me a proposal that Mr. Gladstone made to you, that I should undertake some of the duties of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and reside a portion of the year in that country.

I have carefully and for some considerable time considered the question, and have also very fully discussed it with you.

We both came to the conclusion that, as regards myself personally, and in respect to the interests of the country at large, the desired objects would not be attained.

I should, however, be very glad to have an opportunity of discussing with Mr. Gladstone the subject of some useful employment which I could undertake as your eldest son, and which I am as anxious as ever to obtain. I remain, your dutiful and affectionate son, ALBERT EDWARD.

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[1] This was at Kirtlebridge on the Caledonian Railway, seventeen miles north of Carlisle. Eleven lives were lost.

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 15*th November* 1872.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen commands me to ask if there are no means of preventing the publication of appointments and promotions before they have received her approval.

The nomination of Sir Sidney Dacres to Greenwich Hospital was announced as if by authority in the *Daily Telegraph*, before the submission was even sent to her Majesty, and the appointment of Sir Alexander Milne appears in *The Times* of yesterday, although your letter proposing him for the office only arrived here the previous evening.

The Queen feels sure she has only to call your attention to this matter to ensure your doing your best to prevent it. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 16*th November* 1872.

MY DEAR COLONEL PONSONBY,—I have on some previous occasions had to assure the Queen that so far as depended upon me, every pains should be taken to prevent the premature publication of names submitted for approval with reference to honours or appointments: and I cannot accuse myself of having failed to act in conformity with this assurance. I must add, from my experience both in this and in other matters, that I will answer for my private secretaries as for myself. When there has been any apparent leakage we have done our best to trace it: but this is not easy.

I will immediately refer to Mr. Goschen the cases which you mention, and have asked for his explanations as to Admiral Milne, which I will send you. As to Sir S. Dacres, I think I remember Mr. Goschen told me it was a departmental not a Crown appointment, and required no submission.

There are two points to be borne in mind. One, that the news-getters of all kinds are as vigilant to get intelligence as we can be to withhold it, and that there frequently are exterior indications of what is likely to happen, which an acute practised intelligence will often construe into facts. The second is this: that positive announcements are often made in the newspapers which are wrong. It was *positively announced* a few weeks ago that Archdeacon Bickersteth was to be Dean of Winchester, though this arrangement had never been thought of. It was a guess (and a sheer error) which grew into a statement of fact. Therefore, it does not *follow* from the appearance of an announcement that it is founded on knowledge, or that there has been any breach of confidence at all. There is a third point which I may notice to make my statement complete. There are *some* cases of appointments which (as far as I can judge) it is better to discuss a little with the person before taking the Queen's pleasure. It may happen that the person cannot reply without making some enquiries; and these may beget suspicion. These appointments, however, are not very important: and of course the motive is to save the Queen the trouble of repeated submissions in cases where she is not likely to feel special interest or consideration necessary.

I end as I began with saying that I will do my best, and will use every exertion to induce others to do their best. Yours sincerely, W. E. GLADSTONE.

It may perhaps be well that I should send a circular on this subject to the Members of the Government.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15*th Dec.* 1872.— . . . Poor Mr. Disraeli has lost his faithful and devoted partner! She expired this morning. His devotion to her throughout her illness was quite touching, all said.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XII

Parliament had not been long in session in 1873 before a political crisis arose, owing to the defeat on second reading, in the early morning of 12th March, by 287 votes to 284, of an Irish University Bill brought in by the Prime Minister. The measure, though favourably received when first introduced, proved on examination unpalatable both to Protestant and to Roman Catholic feeling, while its restrictive clauses offended keen educationists. The new Irish Home Rule party took a decisive share in killing it. Mr. Gladstone's Government resigned; but Mr. Disraeli declined to take office in a minority; and neither Mr. Gladstone nor Mr. Disraeli would advise a dissolution. Eventually Mr. Gladstone returned to office with his Ministry unchanged. But, at the close of the session, of which the principal result was the passing of a Judicature Bill reorganising the Courts of Law and Equity, an outcrop of administrative scandals affecting mail contracts and telegraphic extension compelled a considerable shifting of offices. Mr. Lowe had to leave the Exchequer for the Home Office, and Mr. Gladstone, under pressure from his colleagues, took over the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in addition to the First Lordship of the Treasury. It was a doubtful point whether this operation vacated his seat in Parliament. He was advised by the Law Officers that it did not; but his refusal to stand for re-election was made the subject of reproach. Throughout the autumn the Liberal Party steadily lost seats in the by-elections.

A noteworthy event of the year was the visit of the Shah of Persia to Europe. Between Berlin and Paris he came *via* Brussels to London, and was the Queen's guest at Buckingham Palace from 19th June till 5th July. Her Majesty received him personally at Windsor, and gave him the Garter; magnificent entertainments of all kinds were provided for him; and the people followed with admiring interest a potentate who never appeared in public without wearing priceless jewels.

Napoleon III, who after the termination of his imprisonment in Germany had joined the Empress Eugénie in 1871 at Camden Place, Chislehurst, died there after an operation on 9th January. The death hardly affected French politics, save perhaps to hasten the reconciliation of the two Monarchist parties, Legitimists and Orleanists. These, with the Bonapartists, finally drove M. Thiers to resignation on 24th May by a vote in the Assembly aimed directly only at his ministers; the Conservative majority at once elected Marshal MacMahon President in his place. The fusion of Legitimists and Orleanists was accomplished by a visit which the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, paid to his cousin the Comte de Chambord, grandson of Charles X, at Frohsdorf, near Vienna, on 5th August; when the Comte de Paris acknowledged the Comte de Chambord as the Head of his House, and "Henri Cinq," who was childless, accepted the Comte de Paris as his heir. It was believed that he was also prepared to accept, at any rate to some extent, the principles of Constitutional Monarchy; but at the end of October he disappointed Monarchist hopes by insisting, in a letter to a political friend, on the retention of the white flag and all that it implied instead of the national tricolour. When the Assembly met in November, President MacMahon demanded, and, after heated debates, obtained, by a majority of sixty-six, a legal tenure of his office for seven years. In December, Marshal Bazaine, who had been on trial for two months before a military tribunal, presided over by the Duc d'Aumale, for his conduct at Metz during the war, was found guilty and condemned (but with a recommendation to mercy) to death and military degradation. The sentence was commuted to one of twenty years' seclusion, from which he escaped in the following year. The last instalment of the indemnity due to Germany was paid on 5th September, and the German troops finally evacuated French territory on the 16th.

In Germany the struggle between the State and the Roman Catholic Church almost became civil warfare. The fight was most intense in Prussia, where Dr. Falk, the Cultus minister, passed the May Laws, placing the education of the clergy under state control, and forcing intending priests to attend national schools and universities, and also severely restricting the power of the Church to inflict ecclesiastical punishments, e.g. excommunication. The Bishops met and determined to resist; and drastic measures, involving fine, imprisonment, and deprivation, were at once taken against them and the recusant clergy. The Pope made a strong personal protest to King William, and the King, advised by Prince Bismarck, replied with a stern rebuke to the Pope. The Old Catholics were very active, and consecrated a Bishop, Reinkens, who was recognised by the Government, but excommunicated by the Pope. A law enforcing civil marriage was being pressed forward as the year ended.

In Italy also legislation enforcing state control over religious corporations and restraining the encroachment of the clergy on civil rights was, to the indignation of the Pope, in progress. In Spain, King Amadeo abdicated in February, after more than a couple of years' struggle against faction and anarchy. A Republic was proclaimed once more, but was not successful in putting down insurrectionary movements or securing stable government.

Other events of the year were a notable Russian advance in Central Asia through the capture of Khiva by General Kaufmann; the despatch of an expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley to break the power of the Ashantis, who had ravaged the hinterland of the Gold Coast Colony; and the fall of Sir John Macdonald's ministry in Canada, owing to electoral corruption.

During the year serious attention was drawn in Great Britain to the increasing frequency and gravity of railway accidents, most of them apparently due to preventible causes; and the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, issued a circular warning the Railway Companies that, if they did not manage their lines better, the Government might be compelled to legislate.

CHAPTER XII

1873

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, *7th Jan.* 1873.—At luncheon received a letter from Bertie with two enclosures from Sir H. Thompson, stating that he had performed the operation on the poor Emperor [Napoleon III], and that though there were no very untoward symptoms, still he considered the case very serious, and that he was not sure whether he would be able to pull the Emperor through! This alarmed me.

9th Jan.—Had enquired but was surprised at getting no news from Chislehurst, and soon after I came home, Janie E. came into my room with a telegram in her hand, saying, "It is all over," which I could not believe, so impossible it seemed. The telegram was from M. Piétri, the Emperor's Secretary (nephew of the former Minister of Police), begging her to communicate to me the sad news that "l'Empereur a cessé de souffrir à 11 heures moins ¼. L'Impératrice est dans les larmes." Was quite upset. Had a great regard for the Emperor, who was so amiable and kind, and had borne his terrible misfortunes with such meekness, dignity, and patience. He had been such a faithful ally to England, and I could [not] but think of the wonderful position he had, after being a poor, insignificant exile, of the magnificent reception given him in England in 1855, and his agreeable visit here in '57, and ours to Paris in '55! And now to die like this from the results of an operation, though it may have been inevitable, seems too tragic and sad!

Decided to send Colonel Gardiner off at once, with a letter to the poor Empress. Many telegrams sent and received. Had telegraphed the news to the Empress Augusta, Vicky, and Alice, receiving a particularly kind answer from the two former with messages for the Empress, which I communicated through the Prince Imperial.

12*th Jan.*—Telegraphed and wrote to Bertie that, all things considered, the great crowds and the possibility of an Imperialist demonstration, contrary to my original desire, I now thought, and Lord Granville and others were of the same opinion, that it would be better he should not attend the Emperor's funeral.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

OSBORNE, 19*th Jan.* 1873.— . . . The Queen does *not* [think] the Bonapartist cause will lose by the poor Emperor's death, on the contrary *she* thinks the reverse. *For* the peace of Europe SHE thinks (though the Orleans Princes are her dear friends and connections, and—some—relations, and she would not for the world have it *said* as coming from her) that it would be best if the Prince Imperial was *ultimately* to succeed.

The Empress Eugénie to Queen Victoria.

[*Copie.*] CHISLEHURST, 25 *Janvier* 1873.

MADAME ET TRÈS CHÈRE SŒUR,—Votre Majesté a voulu s'associer à notre immense malheur, elle a trouvé dans son cœur des paroles touchantes d'affectueuse sympathie; elles seraient une consolation, si quelque chose pouvait l'être.

Le vide qui se fait dans ma vie est effrayant, et j'en serais écrasée si Dieu ne me donnait pas la force de souscrire à ses décrets; mais votre Majesté sait mieux que personne les sentiments qui viennent assaillir un cœur aussi douloureusement frappé.

Mon fils et moi prions votre Majesté d'accepter un souvenir de *celui* qui n'est plus, la petite pendule qui était à son chevet: elle a marqué les temps heureux d'autrefois et les longues heures de souffrances morales et physiques, et des années de joie et de douleurs; mais quelle large part ces dernières ont eue!

Nous remercions votre Majesté et la famille Royale des preuves d'affectueuse sympathie que nous en avons reçues.

Je prie votre Majesté de recevoir l'assurance des tendres sentiments avec lesquels je suis, Madame et chère Sœur, de votre Majesté la bien malheureuse Sœur, EUGÉNIE.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 26*th January* 1873.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen enquired to-day how it was that the title of Empress of India,[1] which is so frequently used in reference to her Majesty, has never been officially adopted.

When the Queen assumed the Government of India in 1859, her Majesty's style was altered so far, I believe, as to include the colonies, which hitherto had not been recognised in the Sovereign's title.

But no special mention was made of India, of which country her Majesty is undoubtedly the Sovereign of Sovereigns, and consequently Empress.

Would it not be desirable that the Queen should at once adopt the style of Empress of India in addition and subordinate to the title her Majesty now proudly bears as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland? Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Colonel Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Draft.*] OSBORNE, 30*th January* 1873.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—You have somewhat misunderstood the Queen's wish with respect to the assumption of the title of Empress of India, which is quite distinct from the question of precedence. I wrote to you in a separate letter upon this latter subject and said that the Queen would not admit the claim of an Emperor to rank before a King. Her Majesty, therefore, had no intention of assuming the

[1] See below, chap. xv.

title of Empress, which was in her case to be subordinate to that of Queen, with a view of affecting the question of precedence.

The Memorandum enclosed by you says that any change in the Sovereign's designation must be made by an Order in Council. This probably would also be the most convenient way of notifying it, but was it so done when the names of the dependencies were added to the Queen's territorial titles?

The Queen will communicate as you suggest with the Duke of Argyll. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 31*st Jan.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet to-day has spent many hours in examining and settling the clauses of the Irish University Bill which they propose to introduce into Parliament. The Bill is in a state in which a print of it could be submitted to your Majesty, should your Majesty be disposed to take the trouble of examining it.

The Cabinet also considered the terms of a telegraphic message which Lord Granville proposes to send to Lord A. Loftus with reference to a Reuter telegram which represents that the Russians are about to increase enormously the scale of the expedition to Khiva. The statement is not authenticated, but even if it be true it does not appear to afford to Great Britain any ground of remonstrance.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 31*st Jan.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone . . . in consultation with Lord Granville, desires to offer the Lord Chief Justice[1] the Grand Cross of the Bath as an acknowledgment of public service rendered in his acceptance as well as in the discharge of the office of arbitrator at Geneva. The list being full, he would be for the time G.C.B. extraordinary, but this is a measure apparently proper where the honour is to be conferred in connection with a special occasion. Mr. Gladstone would willingly have advised the grant of a Peerage, but this apparently is not desired by the Lord Chief Justice. Mr. Gladstone humbly prays the signification of your Majesty's pleasure.

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[1] Sir Alexander Cockburn. See vol. i, pp. 257–262.

The Cabinet will meet again on Tuesday to consider the form of the Speech from the Throne, and Mr. Gladstone will on that day have the honour of transmitting the draft to your Majesty, before the Council on Wednesday which he hopes to attend.

In the meantime your Majesty will perhaps have the goodness to signify Mr. Gladstone whether any reference shall be made in the opening passage of the Speech, to your Majesty's absence from the opening of Parliament on the coming occasion.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 1*st Feb.* 1873.—The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter received this morning. She would certainly desire to see the proposed measure for Irish education as well as any others of importance, at least a slight outline of them, as it is *not right or fair* that the Sovereign should be expected to give her support and consent to measures which she knows nothing of. And there have been several instances when measures have been introduced when it was too late for the Queen to make observations upon them.

The Queen would certainly *not* wish any mention of her absence at the opening of Parliament being made in the Speech, and did not approve its being done on a former occasion. It never used to be done when in former times she occasionally did not go in person, and the Queen much fears that with the *best will* she may be very often prevented from doing so, for, as she before stated, *years* do NOT increase her ability to do so, and this year, even had she been willing to do so, she feels she could not have ventured to do it, for ever since she has been back from Scotland, without any very severe attack she has been constantly suffering from rheumatism so as to be obliged to wrap up very much, and the double exposure in *full* dress to cold, and in the House of Lords to great heat, would be almost impossible for her without running serious risk of being quite laid up. . . .

The Queen approves of the G.C.B. being offered to the Lord Chief Justice for his recent labours as arbitrator at Geneva.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 1*st Feb.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of this day, and he loses no time in forwarding with his humble duty the last secret print of the Irish University Bill, with a few notes of amendments made by the Cabinet yesterday.

He has taken the liberty of writing "Secret" on the Bill, not only because papers of this kind are confidential, but because in this instance the paper should bear a mark of its character which it happens to be of great importance to preserve.

The aim of the Bill is to reform University education in Ireland, for the removal of grievances and the advancement of learning, as nearly as may be on the *principles* which have been applied to the question of Universities in England, though the wide difference of circumstances calls for diversity in the mode of application.

Mr. Gladstone will have the utmost pleasure in answering any question from your Majesty respecting the Bill.

Generally he would say he has taken the following for his rules. No Bill of great importance is adopted by the Cabinet without being made known at the time to your Majesty; and in any case where special considerations are involved, which Mr. Gladstone can see to be likely to command your Majesty's special interest, he is careful to indicate the fact.

Any commands which your Majesty may give for the submission of measures while in preparation will be carefully obeyed by him.

In the present instance a variety of points remain for final adjustment, but the views of the Cabinet on the main outlines are fully and clearly and even succinctly expressed in the print of the Bill herewith transmitted. . . .

The Duke of Argyll to Colonel Ponsonby.

INDIA OFFICE, 1*st February* 1873.

MY DEAR COLONEL PONSONBY,—The matter referred to in your letter about the Queen's title of Empress of India is one which formed the subject of some consultation in the Government lately; and the opinion seemed to be that this title had never been adopted in any official document. I thought it had been—in the Proclamation issued under the Derby Government assuming the Government of India by the Crown. But in this I believe I was mistaken. The Queen's old and familiar title is, after all, the higher one; for, as you say, the designation of Empress of India would be *subordinate* to that of Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The common vague impression that "Emperor" is a higher title than King or Queen does not seem to be founded on any rule, and would, of course, be inconsistent with assuming it as "subordinate" to the title of Queen.

I do not think the title has been used *in India* otherwise than colloquially or in speeches; and it may be open to question whether, if this be so, any NEW step should be taken for this purpose.

I shall enquire more particularly into the facts, and report on them for the Queen's consideration. Yours very sincerely, ARGYLL.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, 20*th Feb*. 1873.—A very foggy, raw day. At quarter past ten, left Windsor for Chislehurst, by the South-Western, Beatrice, Jane C., and Colonel Maude accompanying me. We passed through London, which was wrapped in a thick yellow fog. Drove straight from the station in a closed landau, Colonel Maude riding, to the small Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary, a pretty, rural little place, quite a village church, a good deal smaller inside than Whippingham. To the right of the altar, or rather below it, behind a railing, in the smallest space possible, rest the earthly remains of the poor Emperor, the coffin covered with a black velvet pall, embroidered with golden bees, and covered with wreaths and flowers of all kinds, many of which are also piled up outside, to which Beatrice and I each added one. The banner of the French "Ouvriers" was placed near the wreaths. Father Goddard, the priest, a quiet, youngish man, showed us round and also showed us the plan of the small private chapel, which is to be added on. The Sydneys met us there.

From thence drove to Camden House, where at the door, instead of his poor father, who had always received me so kindly, was the Prince Imperial, looking very pale and sad. A few steps further on, in the deepest mourning, looking very ill, very handsome, and the picture of sorrow, was the poor dear Empress, who had insisted on coming down to receive me. Silently we embraced each other and she took my arm in hers, but could not speak for emotion. She led me upstairs to her boudoir, which is very small and full of the souvenirs which she had been able to save. She cried a good deal, but quietly and gently, and that sweet face, always a sad one, looked inexpressibly pathetic. She described the poor Emperor's death, and how terribly sudden it had been at the last. She was just going to start for Woolwich to see her son, who wanted to come, but who they thought might agitate the Emperor by going in and out of the room, as he so adored his father. The Emperor had had a better night, but she was told it would be better for her not to go away as "l'Empereur a une petite crise." She therefore took off her hat and went towards his room, which was close by. As she came to the door, Dr. Corvisart opened it, calling out "Father Goddard, Father Goddard," and she at once saw that there was danger. When she came into the room and kissed the Emperor's hand, they said to him, "Voilà l'Impératrice," but he no longer was able to see her, though he still moved his lips to kiss her. In five or ten minutes afterwards all was over!

The poor Empress said that he had suffered fearfully, and that already in September, when they were at Cowes, going in a carriage was agony to him. The painful preparations for the funeral, the hammering and knocking in that small house, had been dreadful. Prince Napoleon[1] had behaved very badly, wanting to take the boy, "tout ce que j'ai," away from her and not to leave him in England. But she was firm, having been left, by the Emperor's will, her son's guardian. Prince Napoleon wanted her to take him away from Woolwich (which the boy likes very much, and is only half an hour's drive from Chislehurst), saying that Bertie disapproved of his remaining there, which I assured her was precisely the reverse. Prince Napoleon had wanted to take him away, in order to "faire l'aventure avec lui," and to ruin him, but the boy was quite determined not to yield to his cousin. The Empress showed me the poor Emperor's humble little rooms, which are just as he left them, all his things on the table, so sad to see, as I know but too well! She was dressed in the deep widow's mourning here, but unrelieved by white, and on her head a black crape cap and veil. It was a very melancholy visit, and I see the Empress's sad face constantly before me.

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[1] A cousin of Napoleon III, of whom and of whose government he had often been a not very friendly critic.

H. I. M. The Empress Eugénie.

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Memorandum: Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 20*th Feb.* 1873.—The Reverend Mr. King,[1] Principal of Cuddesdon College, is humbly recommended to your Majesty by Mr. Gladstone to succeed the deceased Dr. Ogilvy in the Chair of Pastoral Theology at Oxford.

This Chair is one of an eminently practical character, inasmuch as without a special gift in the holder of winning and leading young intelligent minds it becomes useless. This gift of exercising gentle and voluntary influence, through a conciliatory and loving spirit united with real firmness, appears to be possessed in an unusual degree by Mr. King.

The College at Cuddesdon is the first in rank and efficiency of the establishments for the professional training of clergymen who have gone through the regular course at the Universities; and, as an indication of the confidence which is placed in Mr. King, it may be mentioned that the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Bangor, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Bishop of Oxford, have recently sent, or are about to send, sons to Cuddesdon; although that College is specially connected with Oxford, while three of these four Prelates are Cambridge men.

[*Draft.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

Windsor Castle, 9*th March* 1873.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone very sincerely for his long letter of yesterday, and for so fully explaining the present state of affairs, which is very critical.[2]

She regrets much the difficulties which have so unexpectedly arisen, and still hopes that the Government will have such a majority as will enable them to go on. The Queen trusts that Mr. Gladstone will not let any natural annoyance and disappointment weigh more with him than he can help, when he has come to a decision after the vote which is expected on Tuesday. What would Mr. Gladstone call a too small majority ?[1]

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[1] Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] Mr. Gladstone had written on 8th March to prepare the Queen for the probable rejection of the Irish University Bill on second reading, followed by a crisis involving either resignation of ministers or dissolution of Parliament. He had further told her Majesty that he did not himself intend to go into Opposition, and that the end of the Government would be the close of his political life. The main portions of this letter are printed in Lord Morley's *Gladstone* bk. vi, ch. 11.

She would be grateful if he would let her know to-morrow what he learns of the feelings of the House of Commons, and prospects of the Government. She entirely approves of Mr. Gladstone's decided expression of opinion that nothing more can be done for the Roman Catholics, who have *no* right whatever to complain.

Lady Emily Russell[2] *to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN, 15*th March* 1873.

MADAM,—I avail myself of your Majesty's gracious permission to write, to say how deeply gratified we have been by the visit their Majesties the Emperor and Empress have deigned to pay us, and by the exceptional favour conferred on us, by their Majesties being pleased to accept a dinner at the Embassy.

This high distinction, which no other Embassy has ever yet enjoyed in Berlin, is due to those deep feelings of devoted admiration which her Imperial Majesty the Empress Augusta never ceases to express in eloquent and glowing terms, when speaking of her friendship and sympathy for your Majesty. My husband says that this gracious demonstration of goodwill towards your Majesty's Embassy, reported by all the Press of Germany, will do more towards improving the friendly relations of England and

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[1] In reply to this question, Mr. Gladstone wrote that "the Cabinet would probably now decide upon going on with any majority, however small, to the next stage of the Bill." The Bill was defeated by 287 to 284. Mr. Gladstone and his Government resigned; but Mr. Disraeli, for whom the Queen sent, declined to take office, and, after several days of somewhat confused negotiations, Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet resumed office. All the most important documents bearing on this political crisis are published either in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 12, or in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 5, and are therefore not reproduced here. See Introductory Note.

[2] Wife of Lord Odo Russell, British Ambassador in Berlin (now the Dowager Lady Ampthill).

Germany, he has so much at heart, than a thousand despatches and Blue-books.

The Empress, whose conversation is so brilliantly clever as your Majesty knows, was more so than ever throughout the evening. Her Majesty repeatedly said, "I fancy myself in dear England," and before rising from dinner drank your Majesty's health in terms of affectionate respect and with sincere good wishes for your Majesty's welfare and happiness.

Their Imperial Majesties were immensely cheered by the crowd in the street both on coming to, and on leaving the Embassy.

Your Majesty is aware of the political jealousy of Prince Bismarck about the Empress Augusta's influence over the Emperor, which he thinks stands in the way of his anti-clerical and national policy, and prevents the formation of responsible Ministries as in England. The Empress told my husband he [Bismarck] had only twice spoken to her Majesty since the war, and expressed a wish that he should dine with us also. According to etiquette, he would have had to sit on the left side of the Empress, and her Majesty would then have had an hour during which he could not have escaped conversing. Prince Bismarck accepted our invitation, but said he would prefer to set aside etiquette, and cede the *pas* to the Austrian Ambassador. However, on the day of the dinner, a short time before the hour appointed, Prince Bismarck sent an excuse saying he was ill with lumbago. The diplomatists look mysterious and hint at his illness being a *diplomatic* one.

Prince Bismarck often expresses his hatred to the Empress in such strong language that my husband is placed in a very difficult position, and still more so, when he complains of the want of harmony existing between her Royal and Imperial Highness the Crown Princess and himself. He says he is able to agree with the Crown Prince, but he fears that will never be possible with the Crown Princess.

This state of things is very distressing, and my husband is more unhappy about it than he can ever say, because he foresees difficulties in the future that will be quite beyond the influence of diplomacy, Prince Bismarck being so unscrupulous in his use of the Press to undermine his political enemies, as his letter insinuating that the Empress was sending money to the refractory Catholic priests, through the Chamberlain Count Schaffgotsch, proves.

My husband fears that Prince Bismarck will seek to make the position of the Crown Princess with the public a very difficult one, in order to have his own way about the administration of Germany, which he wants to unify altogether, as Cavour unified Italy, by mediatising the reigning Princes.

The Emperor expressed in the warmest terms his high sense of the honour conferred on Countess Bernstorff by your Majesty's visit, and said how much touched he and the Empress had been by it. Their Majesties do not yet know whom Prince Bismarck intends to propose as successor to poor Count Bernstorff.[1]

We had the honour of a visit, a week ago, from Prince William and Prince Henry accompanied by Herr Heinzpetre, their Royal Highnesses' preceptor. Everyone who has the gratification of speaking to Prince William is struck by his naturally charming and amiable qualities, his great intelligence and his admirable education. . . .

I am, Madam, your Majesty's most humble, obedient servant, EMILY RUSSELL.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

19*th March* 1873.—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty.

He has seen Mr. Gladstone. He has given up Dr. Miller, and will recommend Kingsley to your Majesty for the stall at Westminster. He behaved very well about it.

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[1] The German Ambassador in London, who was lying hopelessly ill at the Embassy, Carlton House Terrace, and died there on 26th March.

There was not a moment as the train was going off, and the Dean had no time to speak about Mr. Ayrton. The Dean least of all wishes him where he is. But he submits to your Majesty that just now would not be the time to press a falling Ministry. Their difficulties would be too great probably just now, to remove him in addition. Another year will probably see them all gone.

Colonel Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st March* 1873.—Colonel Ponsonby in humbly congratulating your Majesty upon the termination of the crisis,[1] begs leave most respectfully to thank your Majesty for the clear and unmistakable directions your Majesty has throughout given to him, which has made his duty of conveying your Majesty's commands an easy one; and though your Majesty has been most graciously pleased to approve Colonel Ponsonby's exertions, he cannot forget that whatever he did was facilitated by the manner in which your Majesty carefully considered each difficulty, promptly decided upon it, and with an accurate knowledge of precedents skilfully avoided taking any step that was liable to misconstruction.

Colonel Ponsonby most humbly takes the liberty of saying that he can scarcely regret the recent crisis, since it has so well brought out your Majesty's characteristic love of fairness and justice to both parties, and the clear-sighted judgment which enabled your Majesty to deal impartially with the unusual and difficult questions which arose.

Queen Victoria to Colonel Ponsonby.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st March* 1873.—It is for the Queen much more to thank Colonel Ponsonby for the great help he afforded her, and for the great judgment, tact, and zeal he showed during those trying days, and she was especially touched by the anxiety he showed that she should in no way be misrepresented.

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[1] The crisis caused by the rejection of the Irish University Bill. It was the first political crisis of importance with which Colonel Ponsonby, as Private Secretary to the Queen had had to deal.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 26*th March* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Burials Bill, which has always excited much interest as a measure in the hands of a private member, has been to-day raised to a yet more prominent position by the circumstance that Mr. Disraeli has moved the rejection of the Bill. Its main object is to provide that burials may take place in a churchyard without a service, and also that a minister or member of any registered congregation may, subject to certain conditions, perform in the churchyards services other than those of the Church of England. Mr. Disraeli in his speech avoided generally all extreme statements, and consequently took rather narrow ground; but other opponents of the Bill founded themselves on its supposed tendency to promote the disestablishment of the Church, a tendency which, of course, is emphatically disclaimed by at least a considerable proportion of its supporters. On the whole the great bulk of those voting on each side must be taken to have voted on the merits of the measure. After a debate of over five hours, the second reading of the Bill was put from the Chair, when the numbers were:

Ayes	280
Noes	217
Majority	63

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 29*th March* 1873.— . . . Mr. Gladstone read to the Cabinet a letter which he has received from Lord Sydney with respect to the impending visit of the Shah of Persia, who, it is understood, will be for a portion of his sojourn your Majesty's guest, and will spend the remainder in moving about and in a variety of places. Lord Sydney's letter raised the question, in what manner the expenses were to be met.

The Cabinet have considered with care the question thus brought before them; and they have not failed to revert to the precedent set in the last Parliament, when, although the Sultan of Turkey was received at Buckingham Palace, the expenses of his visit were voted by the House of Commons.

Your Majesty's advisers see no difficulty in asking the House of Commons to provide for all expenses which may be properly and regularly incurred as belonging to the visit, except those of his entertainment under your Majesty's roof.

The state of public sentiment has changed materially since the date of the Sultan's residence at Buckingham Palace; and the interior arrangements of the Civil List, with the surplus available for payment over to the Privy Purse (an arrangement which, though most reasonable, does not rest upon a perfectly clear foundation of law), have become matters of public cognisance. They think it would be rash to incur the risk of having the question raised whether the entertainment of the Shah at the Palace does not properly fall within the purposes for which the Civil List is meant to provide: and the raising of that question would do mischief with a portion of the community, out of all proportion to any advantage which could be had from the supply of a certain sum.

It would also be seriously questioned whether the vote on the occasion of the Sultan's visit was justified: the details of that expenditure might be called for, and, if examined, would as it is feared be deemed unsatisfactory; arguments were used in Parliament at the time which would be cited personally against members of the present Government; and it might be observed with truth, that, at the time when the former vote was taken, the usual machinery of constitutional control was somewhat disorganised, owing to the circumstances under which the Government of Earl Russell quitted office in 1866.

The Cabinet would humbly advise that, as on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor of the French, the Reserve Fund of £15,000 should be resorted to, if necessary, to meet any addition to the regular charges of your Majesty's Household, which the visit of the Shah might entail. But perhaps this resort might be unnecessary, or necessary only to a very small extent. The Reserve Fund would afterwards be gradually replaced. If any difficulty were felt or apprehended in this replacement, some contribution, though not a very large one, towards it could be made annually (at least during Mr. Gladstone's tenure of office, to which alone his control could extend) from that minor branch of the Civil List which is under his charge, and from which the payments commonly described as Royal Bounty are provided.

Mr. Gladstone offers his humble apologies for troubling your Majesty with this lengthened explanation. He has communicated the view of the Cabinet to Lord Sydney succinctly and confidentially.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 1*st April* 1873.—The Queen cannot help again bringing to Mr. Cardwell's notice the subject of the complaints of officers of the Army who consider themselves aggrieved by the recent changes.

The Queen hears from many quarters that a very bad feeling prevails, and is growing up amongst them. She is aware that officers have been invited to make known their grievances, and it would be very satisfactory to her if a Royal Commission could be appointed to investigate them. Royal Commissions are appointed now on almost all subjects, and the report of one properly and impartially constituted would, in the Queen's opinion, silence all future complaint. The grievances on investigation may be proved to be without foundation, or of small importance, but the Queen cannot help feeling that as head of the Army she is bound to do all that lies in her power to make her officers sensible that at least their complaints are fairly investigated. If a contrary impression prevails, it is injurious to the Queen as well as to the Government.

The Queen is sure Mr. Cardwell will feel that it is impossible to effect such great changes as have taken place without inflicting real or imaginary injury on individual officers, and the Queen considers it of vital importance that no officer who considers himself to have been unfairly treated should remain under the impression that his complaints have not been duly attended to.[1]

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *2nd April* 1873.—At half past ten started in two carriages, Beatrice, Jane Churchill and Jane Caledon with me. Drove up the Mall, past St. James's Palace, Regent Street, always so gay, with the numberless shops, Portland Place, where there were some few decorations in the shape of carpets and red cloth hung out, and people began to assemble. When we turned out of Park Crescent into the Euston Road, there were many people in the streets. We passed on by the splendid new Midland Station, one of the finest buildings in London, King's Cross, Pentonville Road, and the High Street, Islington.

Thus far we had gone three years ago, when I visited the Working Men's Exhibition in the Agricultural Hall. Here there began to be many pretty decorations and flags and kind inscriptions. I received the most kind and enthusiastic greetings from the very, very poorest. As we went along by Essex Road, Dalston Rise, past the German Hospital, and finally Hackney

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[1] Mr. Cardwell, in reply, demurred to the suggestion of a Royal Commission, pointing out how generously Purchase Officers had been treated by Parliament.

Town Hall, the crowds became very great. We stopped for a moment at the latter, which was very handsomely decorated; and a Mrs. Ellis, wife of the Vestry Clerk, presented me with a beautiful bouquet. From here we went on to the Victoria Park. There were no troops out in the streets, only police, but nothing could have been better or more orderly than the behaviour of the crowd. At the entrance of Victoria Park there were troops, Life Guards and Foot Guards, who kept the Park, and were under the command of Edward S[axe] W[eimar]. We stopped under an awning, where addresses were handed into the carriage by the members, Mr. Reed and Mr. Holms, to which I answered, expressing my gratification at my kind reception and the pleasure it gave me to visit the Park. Another bouquet and an address from the parishes of Hackney, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch were presented. We had driven at a gentle trot through the streets, but went at a footspace round the Park. There were many kind expressions of "God bless you," "Come again," and nothing could have been more hearty or cordial than my reception by those poorest of the poor. It was really touching. The Park is a large one and a great boon to the poor people. We returned by Bethnal Green, passing the celebrated Museum, Hackney Road, Shoreditch (the very worst part of London), Bishopsgate Street, Threadneedle Street, fearfully narrow and crowded with clerks, past the Bank, Mansion House, on the balcony of which stood the Lord Mayor in his robes, bowing! The crowds in the City were very great and enthusiastic, and many nosegays were given me. We drove along the Embankment, which is very fine, and through the Horse Guards home. It was a very fine warm day. Got home shortly before one, very gratified and pleased with the most successful morning.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th April*.—Saw Mr. Gladstone at quarter to seven and talked of various things, amongst others of the arrangements for the Shah's visit. Then spoke of the wealth of the country, which Mr. Gladstone said had again made the most wonderful strides. He had come to think now, which he had never done before, that it was quite possible the Income Tax might be able to be taken off altogether. It had just been announced that a penny in the pound was to be taken off and half the duty on sugar.

The Rev. George Prothero to the Prince Leopold.

WHIPPINGHAM, 18*th April* [1873].

DEAR PRINCE LEOPOLD,—I have received an intimation, through the Dean of Windsor, of the Queen's wish that I should not continue to preach here in the surplice, but in the black gown; and as it is impossible that I should correspond with the Dean on the subject in time to act upon his directions next Sunday, I venture to ask your Royal Highness to speak to the Queen on the subject.

The use of the surplice here is a matter of long standing, and was not introduced by me as a part of Cathedral use, but for special and obvious reasons.

In the first place, the offertory is now the recognised means of collecting subscriptions for the various purposes for which alms are asked, and as the clergyman has to return from the pulpit to the Communion table to read the sentences, it is expedient that he should not first have to change his dress to preach and then change it again on his return from the pulpit to the Altar table.

Then again it has, I believe, been declared to be the proper dress of the preacher, and as such has been recommended to be generally worn in various dioceses, in London, as well as Winchester, for instance.

On these grounds the practice was adopted here, not because any great principle was involved in the use, but for convenience' sake, and for the sake of conformity.

And when they were so adopted here the subject was laid before the Queen, and no objection was made at the time, and I supposed the change to have her Majesty's concurrence.

I will therefore beg your Royal Highness to state the grounds upon which the practice was adopted, and to which, as far as I know, no objection has been made except that of which I now hear for the first time.

It is a question, however, whether the Queen will, under these circumstances, wish a return to the old practice, and thus institute a fresh change which will not escape observation, and will be attributed to the Queen's dislike of the surplice, or preference for the black gown; and I do think that so marked an expression of preference on the part of the Queen, if I may venture to say so, may lead to the revival of the old feuds between parties of which the surplice and black gown are the respective symbols, but which had really ceased to be so considered long before the adoption of the surplice as the preacher's dress in this parish.

Had they not ceased to be party symbols, and had not the adoption of the surplice been recommended on account of manifest fitness and expediency alone, I should have been the last to adopt it.

But though it has been adopted here for some time, and though the return to the old practice may lead to remarks, I need scarcely say that, if the Queen still wishes me to use the gown, I shall return to the use of it at once, but I have thought it only right to recall to the Queen's memory the circumstances under which the practice grew up, and the difficulties which arise out of a return to the old custom.

I have the honour to remain, dear Prince Leopold, your most faithful servant, GEORGE PROTHERO.[1]

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 16*th*–17*th May* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that Mr. Miall this evening proposed his motion for the disestablishment of the Churches of England and Scotland. His speech was deservedly heard with great respect, due alike to his character, his ability, and his mode of treatment of the subject. He was seconded by Mr. Maclaren, who founded himself chiefly upon statistics intended to show a more vigorous action on the part of the voluntary Churches of Scotland, than of the Established Church. Mr. Gladstone followed on the part of the Government, and passing by the Scottish case dealt with the general argument of Mr. Miall, and his description of the English Church, against which Mr. Gladstone recited some remarkable passages from a recent work of Dr. Döllinger "on the Reunion of the Churches."

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[1] See below, p. 270.

Mr. Harcourt[1] contended in a short speech that disestablishment of the Church of England would require an alteration of the Act of Settlement, and destroy the Constitution of the country such as it has hitherto been understood to have existed. At seven o'clock the House divided, when the numbers were:

For the motion	61
Against it	356
Majority	295

The numbers who voted in the minority when the question was last debated (in 1872) were 94 against a majority of 295. The change is worthy of note. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Duc de Nemours.

[*Copie.*] BALMORAL, 12 *Juin* 1873.

MON CHER NEMOURS,—D'après ce que vous m'aviez dit l'année dernière, j'avais cru que vous seriez revenu en Angleterre, et qu'aucun de vous ne serait resté si longtemps à Paris. Permettez-moi, avec la franchise avec laquelle je vous ai toujours parlé, de vous demander, si c'est politique, pour votre *avenir*, d'accoutumer le public à vous voir, pour ainsi dire, *réconciliés à la République*, et si une absence de la Capitale n'eût pas été plus prudente ?

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[1] Afterwards Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons.

Je ne me serais pas permis de vous poser cette question, si vous ne m'aviez pas parlé si longuement et si franchement, il y a maintenant presqu'une année, et si vous n'y aviez pas fait allusion dans votre dernière lettre.—VICTORIA R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20*th June* 1873.—My Accession Day, thirty-six years ago, which seems almost impossible. May God guide me further and enable me to do what is right!

Felt nervous and agitated at the great event of the day, the Shah's visit. All great bustle and excitement. The guns were fired and bells ringing for my Accession Day, and the latter also for the Shah. The Beefeaters were taking up their places, pages walking about, in full dress, etc. Arthur arrived, crowds appeared near the gates, the Guard of Honour and Band marched into the Quadrangle, and then I dressed in a smart morning dress, with my large pearls, and the Star and Ribbon of the Garter, the Victoria and Albert Order, etc. Was much surprised at seeing no troops lining the hill, as was done when the Sultan came here. Sent for Colonel Ponsonby, who could not understand it, as he knew the order had been given. He ran down to give some directions, in hopes of getting them still, and some makeshift was arrived at, just as we heard the Shah had arrived at the station. Arthur and Leopold had gone down to meet him, and Lenchen, Louise, Beatrice, and Christian were with me in my room, watching the gradual approach, heralded by cheering.

The carriage was quite near, followed by eleven others!! and we hastened down. The great Officers of State, the ladies and gentlemen, Lord Granville, etc., had all preceded us below. The band struck up the new Persian March, and in another moment the carriage drove up to the door. The Grand Vizier, who, with my sons, was in the same carriage as the Shah, got out first, and then the Shah. I stepped forward and gave him my hand, which he shook, expressing to the Grand Vizier my great satisfaction at making the Shah's acquaintance. Then took his arm and walked slowly upstairs, and along the Corridor, the Grand Vizier close behind, and the Princes and Princesses, including all the Persian ones, the ladies, etc., following, to the White Drawing-room. The Shah is fairly tall, and not fat, has a fine countenance and is very animated. He wore a plain coat (a tunic) full in the skirt and covered with very fine jewels, enormous rubies as buttons, and diamond ornaments, the sword belt and epaulettes made entirely of diamonds, with an enormous emerald in the centre of each. The sword-hilt and scabbard were richly adorned with jewels, and in the high black astrakan cap was a aigrette of diamonds. I asked various questions through the Grand Vizier, but the Shah understands French perfectly and speaks short, detached sentences.

When we entered the White Drawing-room, into which only the Princes and Princesses, the Grand Vizier, Lord Sydney, Lord Granville, and Malcolm Khan came, I asked the Shah to present the Princes, and he presented [them]. The Shah presented the Grand Vizier as "Mon premier Ministre." He is very agreeable and pleasing, and speaks French perfectly. I presented my three daughters to the Shah, before his presentations. Then I asked him to sit down, which we did on two chairs in the middle of the room (very absurd it must have looked, and I felt very shy), my daughters sitting on the sofa. Lord Granville handed me the Garter and diamond Star and Badge, and helped by Arthur and Leopold I put it over the Shah's shoulder. He then took my hand and put it to his lips, and I saluted him. The Sadr Azam pinned on the Star. After this the Shah gave me his two Orders (Malcolm Khan carrying them in a box), the one being his miniature, set in magnificent diamonds, the *Sovereign's* order, which has never been given to a woman before. It is worn round the neck. The other is a new one instituted before the Shah left Persia, for ladies, and is a very pretty Star and small badge, also in diamonds, the latter hanging from a pink watered silk ribbon bordered with green, which is worn across the shoulder. He put this over my shoulder, and my cap was rather in danger, but the Grand Vizier came to the rescue, as well as Lenchen and Louise.

The doors were then opened into the Green Drawing-room, where everyone was assembled, and we proceeded slowly to luncheon, the Shah giving me his arm. We lunched in the Oak Room and sat down twenty. The Shah sat on my right, and the Grand Vizier on my left, Lenchen next the Shah, Louise next the Grand Vizier, Prince Abdul between Lenchen and Beatrice, and one of the old uncles on her other side. The band played during luncheon, and the Pipers at dessert, walking round the table, which seemed to delight the Shah. I talked a good deal to the Grand Vizier, and through him to the Shah, but also directly to the latter, in French. He takes great interest in everything, spoke of Vicky and her children, and said she was well; that he should so much like to see Scotland, had had my book translated into Persian, and had read it. The Sadr Azam said the Shah had reigned twenty-six years, and was forty-three, his eldest son, the heir, being nineteen. The succession in Persia is direct, not as in Turkey. The Shah ate fruit all through luncheon, helping himself from the dish in front of him, and drank quantities of iced water. After luncheon we walked down the Corridor to the Tapestry Room, where I took leave of him, and left him to rest, and where his servants, Pipe-bearer, Cup-bearer, etc., went to attend on him. He is naturally much tired and is accustomed to rest after meals.

I remained a little while in the Corridor, talking to the Persian Princes and to Sir Henry Rawlinson (who speaks Persian perfectly), and the following were presented to me: two of the second class of gentlemen, some of whom (especially two Chamberlains and a Master of the Ceremonies) are tall and very good-looking, his doctor, Dr. Tholozan, a Frenchman, and Dr. Dickson, for twenty-five years attached to the British Legation, who saved the Shah's life two years ago. Went to my room to rest a little, and at about half past three saw the Shah (who had taken off his aigrette and put on his spectacles) go downstairs and drive off with his whole suite. They went without an escort to take a drive round Virginia Water, and to stop at the Fishing Temple. Felt so thankful all had gone off so well.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 28*th June* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet met to-day and deliberated for several hours.

Mr. Ayrton was heard upon the matter of the Law Courts, and the differences which have arisen between him and the Architect, Mr. Street.[1] The Cabinet considered the matter, and Mr. Gladstone embodied their views in a letter to Mr. Ayrton, which substantially requires him to abandon in important points the ground he has taken up. It remains to be seen what will be the upshot. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 11*th July* 1873.—Out to tea with Beatrice, near the pines and ilexes. Just as we got out a telegram was brought, which came from Affie, who had this afternoon let me know his arrival at Jugenheim. He said the following: "Marie and I were engaged this morning. Cannot say how happy I am. Hope your blessing rests on us." Was greatly astonished at the great rapidity with which the matter has been settled and announced. For a long time

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[1] See note on p. 224.

pourparlers had been going on with regard to a possible marriage between Affie and the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, but there have been many difficulties, and I only yesterday heard from Alice that, the parents having yielded to the Grand Duchess's wish, all would probably now go smoothly. I at once sent the telegram in, and let Leopold and everyone know. Received at the same time the following telegram from the Emperor and Empress of Russia, which I translate from the German: "We implore with you God's blessing on our dear children and recommend to you our daughter, who kisses your hand." Answering these telegrams, and sending ones to all our children, relations, and friends. Felt quite bewildered. Not knowing Marie, and realising that there may still be many difficulties, my thoughts and feelings are rather mixed, but I said from my heart "God bless them," and I hope and pray it may turn out for Affie's happiness.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 21*st July* 1873.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The account in the papers is substantially correct. He supposes it was obtained from Mr. Farrer,[1] as Lord Granville saw no reporter.

Lord Granville had arrived at the Waterloo Station in good time. The Bishop [2] had mistaken the station (there are three railways), and in half a minute would have been late for the train.

They hardly spoke in the train, but got out at Leatherhead into an open fly, when the Bishop became exceedingly agreeable, spoke of how well cared for the parish of Leatherhead was, pointed out all the houses on each side of the road, seemed to know the history of all the inhabitants. At Burford Bridge they found the saddle horses. The Bishop spoke to the ostler, and gave an amusing account of the conversation about a dray without horses at the door. As soon as he was on the horse, which Lord Granville had sent for him, he got into tearing spirits. They went slowly for about a mile, then went fast up a hill over a beautiful common, and through some magnificent woodlands, with a beautiful view on each side. The Bishop never wishing to stop for rough ground, or for rather sharp pitches, they came down a very steep hill from the chalk range, to the green-sand valley, crossed a viaduct over the railway, and found themselves on a sort of natural ride, of the smoothest turf, over which they cantered gently.

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[1] Well known as Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Farrer, of the Board of Trade, who lived in the neighbourhood.

[2] Of Winchester, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce.

Lord Granville rode a little wide of the Bishop on the left, and was looking up the hill on the left, when he heard a noise and a heavy thud on the grass. The horse was on its legs, but the Bishop was lying in a monumental position, almost exactly the same as he was laid out this morning for the inquest, and apparently as if done with the same care.

Lord Granville sent his groom (whom Lord Granville had intended in the first instance not to bring with him) to fetch assistance from Mr. Farrer of the Board of Trade. Lord Granville felt all the helplessness of ignorance. He did not know what was the best thing to do. He loosened the clothes, took off the neck-cloth and gloves, raised the shoulders and head a little on his own hat and coat, and chafed the hands. The groom came back in a very short time with Mr. Farrer on horseback, who had sent his waggonette, but which could only be got to the top of the hill, which was of no use, so he galloped back for more men and a litter.

The Bishop's countenance was perfectly serene, not the slightest symptom of pain, and with an appearance of satisfaction.

Lord Granville at first found no pulsation either of the heart or of the pulse. Later he deceived himself, by the pulsation of his own finger, into the belief that respiration was not entirely at an end.

The Bishop had been just before the accident talking of riding, of horses, and of horse accidents. Of the latter he gave rather a ludicrous instance, when Lord Houghton broke his collar-bone.

The horse he rode was a hunter and a good hack, which has been hunted by Miss Osborne in Ireland, which Lord Granville had hunted, and generally rides in London. It is the only one Lady Granville rides. Neither Lord nor Lady Granville remember his having ever made a stumble, which is confirmed by the groom.

Lord Granville asked the Bishop whether riding ever tired him; "Never on such a horse as this."

Lord Granville gave your Majesty's gracious messages to the two sons, who seemed much touched by them.

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's most kind sympathy with himself. It seems a horrid nightmare.

Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 22*nd July* 1873.—The Queen cannot in writing to Mr. Gladstone abstain from expressing her *sincere* and true sorrow at the *most* sad and sudden, though painless, death of the poor Bishop of Winchester.

The Queen had known him ever since '42 and admired and liked him *most before* he became a Bishop, and before he leant so much to those High Church views which did harm, and which are so great a misfortune to the Church.

But, apart from all that, he was a most able, agreeable man, and very kind-hearted, and had shown great attachment to the beloved Prince, and great sympathy for the Queen in her great sorrow.

The Queen has felt much for Lord Granville, for whom this must have been a most fearful shock.

Few people will be more missed in Society than the Bishop.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *22nd–23rd July* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty's interesting letter on the death of the Bishop of Winchester. He could, if it were needful, bear an independent testimony to the truth of much of what your Majesty has said respecting that great Prelate. Of his special opinions Mr. Gladstone may not be an impartial judge: but he believes there can be no doubt that there does not live the man, in any of the three Kingdoms of your Majesty, who has, by his own indefatigable and unmeasured labours, given such a powerful impulse, as the Bishop of Winchester gave, to the religious life of the country; and that affectionate disposition, which he testified before your Majesty after the death of the illustrious Prince Consort, was ever ready to soothe and share the sorrows of the humblest of your subjects.

Mr. Gladstone went yesterday morning with Lord Granville to Abinger Hall, where the Bishop lay dead. The inquest was short and almost painfully simple, though conducted with perfect propriety. The shock to Lord Granville's mind and nerves from the terrible sight he saw had not wholly passed away. The jury of course went to view the Bishop as he lay, and Mr. Gladstone had his last sight of him on earth. The countenance was calm, but full of the marks both of his labours and his powers. . . .

[Mr. Gladstone] will only add that the extent and depth of feeling which has been shown, both in the neighbourhood and in London, are even beyond what he could have anticipated. There appears to be a widespread desire, which Mr. Gladstone shares, that he should be buried in the Abbey; of which, though but for a limited time, he once was Dean, and where his honoured father lies.

General Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, *23rd July* 1873.—As your Majesty so graciously condescended to speak to General Ponsonby yesterday on military matters, he most humbly craves permission to make a few remarks on the subject.

He much regrets differing from Sir Thomas Biddulph on some points, but he thinks these are chiefly matters of detail and not the broad questions which affect your Majesty's prerogative.

General Ponsonby is convinced that it is Mr. Cardwell's earnest desire to raise the efficiency of your Majesty's Army to the highest pitch, and to increase the power of your Majesty over the Army to the fullest extent. He holds that your Majesty is the sole and entire head of the Army, and that he is your Majesty's responsible adviser for all things military.

The recent reforms introduced by him, many of which became absolutely necessary in consequence of the improvements in other armies, have secured—as far as it is possible to judge in time of peace—the pre-eminence of the British Army in efficiency and strength, although it is of course small when compared to some foreign armies. (An exception may perhaps be admitted in the excellence of our control system, which is not by any means perfect.)

The powers of the Commander-in-Chief have been enormously increased and his responsibilities proportionately enlarged, so that it is most necessary that the harmony between the War Office and the Horse Guards should be complete. There is reason to believe that this improves daily.

General Ponsonby fully believes Mr. Cardwell to be one of your Majesty's most loyal advisers, who has been a true friend to the Army. All his schemes may not be at once crowned with success ; but the abolition of Purchase will soon produce beneficial effects and will be regarded as one of the grandest military reforms which have adorned your Majesty's reign.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *24th July* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports to your

Majesty that he has endeavoured to consider fully the vacancy of the See of Winchester, and the best method of filling it.

There are certain points to which he desires to invite your Majesty's attention.

1. The intention of the Act for remodelling Episcopal Dioceses and Revenues (1836) points to the filling of this particular See, like the Archbishoprics and the Sees of London and Durham, by translation rather than by direct appointment.

2. This does not amount to the indication of an absolute rule, as is shown by the appointment of Archbishop Tait to the yet higher See of London from the Deanery of Carlisle.

3. There is at present a special difficulty in the way of translation; namely, that the pension of £2,000 per annum to Bishop Sumner reduces the revenues of the See from £7,000 to £5,000, with an expensive house in Saint James's Square as the only residence;[1] so that many Bishops would suffer seriously from the expenses of removal and assumption of a new See, were they to make the transition. On the other hand, while the labour of the diocese is immense, its patronage is large.

Mr. Gladstone has therefore first considered whether there are any of the present Bishops to whom the option of taking the see ought to be given: and two considerations at once narrow this question materially. It ought not be given to any Bishop except one whose age is such as to furnish a prospect of some considerable period of full activity. On the other hand, some length of episcopal experience is, though not essential, desirable; and this is what nearly one-half of the present Bishops can scarcely be said to possess.

Among the limited number (comparatively) to whom, under these circumstances, attention would be specially directed, there is one, the Bishop of Ely,[2] to whom Mr. Gladstone humbly advises your Majesty that this advancement ought to be offered. He is a prelate of the highest character both for learning and for moderation: a good preacher, a wise counsellor, and, as Mr. Gladstone believes, a good administrator. He is, Mr. Gladstone thinks, the only Bishop now on the Bench, with regard to whom it would be felt, if this offer were not made, that he had been passed over.

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[1] Bishop Sumner continuing to reside at Farnham Castle.

[2] Dr. Harold Browne.

With respect to the succession to Ely, Mr. Gladstone thinks that the person who should be the new Bishop is Dr. Woodford, who was appointed by your Majesty to the Vicarage of Leeds in 1868, and whose administrative powers, as well as his other high qualities, have been thoroughly tried in that most important parish. Of his faculties as a preacher there is but one opinion, and your Majesty has probably had opportunities of estimating them: but Mr. Gladstone conceives that they only form a sample of his excellent qualifications in all points.

He is also a Cambridge man; and this is an advantage, since Cambridge has in recent years had a rather limited share of the episcopal appointments.

Should the Bishop of Ely decline the translation, Mr. Gladstone thinks and humbly advises your Majesty that it would be well to name Dr. Woodford himself for Winchester, under the present circumstances of that See as to income; he has much administrative though no episcopal experience, and the only existing Bishop who could on the whole compete with him, Dr. Fraser, is a man so singularly adapted for his present See of Manchester, that he ought not, at least until after a longer possession, to be removed from it. Nor would it be desirable to run the risk of a round of refusals.[1]

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 25*th July* 1873.—The Queen is glad to see the Bishop of Winchester's own family declined the proposal of Westminster Abbey as his last resting-place, than which nothing more gloomy and doleful exists.

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[1] Dr. Harold Browne accepted Winchester, and Dr. Woodford, Ely.

The Queen thinks it would have been *open* to grave objections, for, while all concurred in thinking poor Bishop Wilberforce most agreeable, talented, and eloquent, many entertained grave doubts as to his conduct and views as a Churchman, which she must own was her own case, while others extolled him and rated him very high in that capacity. And such controversies would have been very painful.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

26*th July* 1873.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that the Cabinet has been held at Mr. Gladstone's house, but he being in bed did not attend it, and has requested Lord Granville to state what passed. It was decided that the Government should support an amendment moved by an independent member on Mr. Cross's motion of censure on the Post Office as to the money transactions connected with the Telegraph Services.[1]

Mr. Cardwell proposed an answer to be submitted to your Majesty in reply to the address of the House of Lords for a Commission of Enquiry into the working of the Purchase system. It was in the negative, but all the members of the Cabinet being Peers, and several members of the House of Commons, urged that it would be better, with a view to the almost unanimous opinion of the House of Lords, the feeling in the Army, and the advice of some independent men, that a Commission should be granted, although carefully limited so as not to interfere with the abolition of Purchase, or with the pecuniary settlement made by the Legislature. Mr. Cardwell acquiesced, and Mr. Gladstone gave his sanction. . . .

General Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 27*th July* 1873.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen thinks the decision of the Cabinet as regards officers' grievances very wise. The object, she believes, of the majority of these is to obtain a hearing, and when the Royal Commission enquires into them and sets them aside as not coming within the powers, her Majesty trusts that the writers will be satisfied and that the discontent will disappear.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Her Majesty is also pleased that the address voted by so large a majority in the House of Lords is not directly refused consideration. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Bishop Jackson to Dean Wellesley.[1]

[*Copy.*] FULHAM PALACE, 31*st July* 1873.

MY DEAR DEAN,—The Purchas judgment did not touch the question of the legal dress of the preacher, which was not before it. Whatever was legal before is legal still.

The truth is, the question has never been raised, and the decision, I suppose, would turn upon whether preaching is a "ministration" in the sense of the Court.

My own private opinion is—which is worth very little—that any dress which is decent, even that which we ordinarily walk about in, is legal. Sincerely yours, J. LONDON.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

THE DEANERY, 6*th Aug.* 1873.—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty.

Mr. Prothero has requested him to express his cheerful compliance with your Majesty's wishes, on a matter to which your Majesty evidently attributes great importance, and on which the Law has not as yet expressed itself so clearly as to make a clergyman's course inevitable and to leave him no option.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 5*th Aug.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has now to submit the following results of the consideration he has given,

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[1] Submitted by the Dean to the Queen. See above, pp. 255–6.

the best in his power, to the difficulties in which the Government is placed in connection with recent miscarriages, and otherwise.

Lord Ripon and Mr. Childers desire to retire on account of private affairs. It is proposed, however, that the actual execution of Mr. Childers' retirement shall be delayed, though his resignation of his present office should be announced as agreed on.

Mr. Gladstone humbly advises that Mr. Bright be approved as the successor to Mr. Childers when he retires in October, that Mr. Bruce receive a Peerage, and be appointed President of the Council in the room of Lord Ripon.

That Mr. Lowe take the office of Home Secretary.

That Mr. Gladstone himself assume the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as was done by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning, and Sir Robert Peel in 1834–5. Mr. Gladstone thinks it right to add that he submits this recommendation with extreme reluctance, and greatly in deference to the wish of his most experienced colleagues, who feel strongly with him the necessity of efforts to retrieve the credit of your Majesty's service so far as it is connected with the present Administration.

Mr. Gladstone has already telegraphed to your Majesty respecting Mr. Ayrton.[1] He will proceed to act with reference to the Post Office, and to subordinate arrangements. . . .

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

Osborne, 6*th Aug.* 1873.—The Queen received late last night Mr. Gladstone's letter, with the proposed new arrangements. She is fully aware of the great difficulties in which he is placed, and would not wish to add to them by making unnecessary difficulties, but, at the same time, she thinks it her duty to point out to Mr. Gladstone, that she does not think what is proposed a satisfactory arrangement.

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[1] Who, it was proposed, should be removed from the Office of Works and made Judge Advocate. See above, p. 224–8.

In the first place she thinks Lord Ripon's retirement (of which she had no idea) a very serious loss, and wishes he could be persuaded to reconsider it. Secondly, will Mr. Bright, who has repeatedly refused when asked to return to office, accept now, and will he add to the strength of the Government? Thirdly, will not the additional office of Chancellor of the Exchequer add greatly to Mr. Gladstone's work, which is already too much for his health? and lastly, is it not very imprudent to put a person, who is so very unpopular as Mr. Lowe unfortunately is, into the Home Office?

As regards Mr. Ayrton, the Queen cannot but express surprise at Mr. Gladstone's proposing to bring her in personal contact with such a man. The Queen would wish Mr. Gladstone to give these remarks his serious consideration, though she does not intend to withhold her consent to the arrangement, should it be impossible to make any other.

Of course this consent does not include the appointment of Mr. Ayrton.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, *6th Aug.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to acknowledge your Majesty's cyphered telegram of last night respecting Mr. Ayrton. . . .

Mr. Gladstone understands your Majesty's present difficulty to turn on the question of private personal audience.

There are two modes in which he finds, on consultation with Mr. Cardwell, that this difficulty might be overcome. The first, that the Secretary of State should himself personally present the findings of courts-martial. The second that the business should be transacted by the Judge Advocate at Councils only. Of these two, the former might lead to remark; but the second, as Mr. Gladstone in concert with Mr. Cardwell humbly thinks, is open to no objection on the score of irregularity or otherwise, if it should be agreeable to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone adds two observations.

First, it is far from certain that Mr. Ayrton would accept the office.

Secondly, in the event of his acceptance, Mr. Gladstone feels that he ought *subsequently* to press upon Mr. Ayrton through Mr. Bright or such person as might appear to be the best medium for the purpose, the propriety of his tendering to your Majesty a personal apology for the indecorous and unjust remarks which naturally caused your Majesty to take umbrage.[1] . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

6th Aug. 1873.—The Queen cannot agree to either of the two proposals for submitting proceedings of courts-martial, but as of late the present Judge Advocate generally submits them in writing, the Queen will agree to the appointment of Mr. Ayrton, with the understanding that all proceedings are submitted in writing.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

HOLMBURY, *7th Aug.* 1873.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Your Majesty's letter was forwarded to him this morning. The explanation of the changes which have been proposed to your Majesty rests upon the difficulty of the position which only affords a choice of difficulties.

Ready as Mr. Gladstone is to leave office, he naturally feels reluctant to terminate his Ministry at a moment of great scandals, for which he is not really responsible in any way.

To take no step whatever would have placed the Government in a very weak and humiliating position.

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[1] See above, pp. 223–7.

Some reconstruction was necessary, and two resignations, those of Mr. Childers and Lord Ripon, had already been tendered independently of the present crisis.

Lord Ripon is one of the most straightforward, loyal, honourable men now in public life. His loss is great, but his place will be adequately filled by Mr. Bruce, both in the House of Lords, where Lord Ripon had no very great authority, and in the Council Office, where Mr. Bruce was long Vice-President of the Education Department, and whose views in Church matters are not so high as Lord Ripon's have lately been tending.

Mr. Lowe is, of course, the great stumbling-block. With ability almost amounting to genius, he has faults of character and manner, which get him and his colleagues into numerous scrapes. He is the culminating point of the present difficulties, but with some exceptions he has been a very hard-working, public-spirited servant of the Crown in his late office.

Out of office his power for opposition is undisturbed by any of his faults. When Lord Russell refused to take him into his last administration, Lord Russell told Mr. Cardwell that he would not have Mr. Lowe for a master. Mr. Cardwell answered, "Then he will be your master out of office," and Lord Granville told Lord Russell, "It is political suicide"; and they both proved right.

In Mr. Gladstone's Government Mr. Lowe has been perfectly docile, whenever matters came to an issue, and Mr. Gladstone naturally is not willing, first to abandon an eminent colleague at the moment of his distress, and at the same time to present the Opposition with a most powerful instrument of attack upon himself at a difficult moment.

What Mr. Lowe will be at the Home Office, it is impossible to say. He is a good lawyer, and very sound on principles of order and political economy. If he persists in treating the rest of mankind as fools and knaves, he will soon have to reap the results, and will have no one to blame but himself, and will prove that for him an official life is impossible. But he may have learnt a lesson from late events, and Lord Granville, from his long connection with him in the Council Office, knows that he can work well with others when he wishes.

Mr. Childers is a clever, quick, accurate man of business, much liked by Mr. Gladstone, but Lord Granville does not think him a great loss, and he was no great favourite with many of his colleagues.

Mr. Bright's name makes him a great accession, and it is to be hoped that his health will allow him to be of real practical use to the Government in the House of Commons, where the men below the gangway so greatly require a man of real authority to keep them in order.

The objection to Mr. Gladstone's assumption of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as Sir Robert Peel and others have done before him, turns chiefly upon the strain on his health, to which your Majesty refers.

But he will have two men[1] under him on whom he can perfectly rely, and upon whom he will place all the routine work. His great reputation as a Chancellor of the Exchequer will make the step popular, and the state of the revenue will probably enable him to propose a budget which, stated by him, will still further raise his character. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, *7th Aug.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone presents his very humble duty to your Majesty.

Since he received your Majesty's letter of last night, he has carefully reviewed his position, but he regrets to say without result.

He would gladly have spared your Majesty the irksome duty of considering the changes now proposed, had it been in his power either on the one side to leave unnoticed the scandals which have occurred, or on the other to tender a general resignation or advise a dissolution of Parliament.

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[1] Mr. Dodson (afterwards Lord Monk Bretton) and Lord Frederick Cavendish.

There probably have been times, when the three gentlemen[1] who, in their several positions, have been chiefly to blame, would have been summarily dismissed from your Majesty's service. But on none of them could any ill intent be charged; two of them had, amidst whatever errors of judgment, done much and marked good service to the State; and two of them were past sixty years of age. Mr. Gladstone could not under the circumstances resort to so severe a course without injustice and harshness, which your Majesty would be the last to approve. The last embarrassment has been this: that all three have shown a tenacity of attachment to office certainly greater than is usual. And unfortunately the willingness of each person to quit or retain office, and still more their active desire, form a very great element in cases of this kind, apart from the question how far the retention of it or its abandonment may be on other grounds desirable.[2] . . .

Mr. Chichester Fortescue to Queen Victoria.

7th Aug. 1873.—Mr. Fortescue presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter on the subject of the lamentable accident at Wigan,[3] and of railway accidents generally.

Mr. Fortescue never forgets your Majesty's anxiety on this subject, and he feels it very strongly himself.

The difficulties of compulsory legislation lie in the nature of the case, namely, that the railways are, and (unless acquired by the State) must remain, in the hands of Companies, who, as the owners, can alone control or be answerable for their daily or hourly working, and the condition of the rails, points, carriages, and machinery.

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[1] Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Monsell, Postmaster-General, and Mr. Ayrton, First Commissioner of Works.

[2] The Queen approved the changes on the condition that "Mr. Ayrton, as Judge Advocate, is only to communicate by writing and never personally."

[3] On 2nd August the night express to Scotland was wrecked at Wigan station, and a dozen people, including Sir John Anson (father of the late Sir William Anson, M.P., Warden of All Souls), were killed and a great many seriously injured. See above, pp. 229–30, and Introductory Note.

It is very difficult, therefore, to devise and impose rules which will be generally applicable and successful. In any case, Mr. Fortescue would submit to your Majesty, the public must trust in great measure to the self-interest of the Companies, and the pressure of public opinion, both of which are much stimulated by such a public and searching enquiry as is now being held at Wigan, and by the heavy damages which, it is to be hoped, will be recovered from the Company by the sufferers. But Mr. Fortescue is far from thinking that nothing can be done by legislation, or, possibly, by giving increased powers to the Board of Trade. The matters to which attention has been most directed of late, as great means of safety, are the "block system," and the "interlocking of points and signals." A Bill was brought into the House of Lords by Lord Buckhurst at the beginning of the Session to make these things compulsory. It was referred to a Committee, of which the Duke of Somerset was Chairman. They reported that most of the Companies were rapidly introducing them; that in any case the necessary works would take time; that it would be better, for this year, not to pass a compulsory Act; but that, if the Companies failed to carry on the improvements as fast as was practicable, they should be compelled by law to do so.

The Government have acted on this recommendation of the Committee, and Mr. Fortescue has carried a short Act, which requires every Company to make a Return to Parliament at the beginning of next year, showing what progress they have made and are making in the new works and arrangement. If it appears that they have not kept their promises, a compulsory Act should certainly be passed. But, for the present, the course adopted by the Government was admitted by those members who are most anxious to control the Railways (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson and others) to be the best.

The late dreadful accident, however, raises different questions; and your Majesty most justly refers to the length and speed of trains as among the most important. It is too soon to say what the cause of destruction at Wigan was; but Mr. Fortescue is certainly of opinion that, if the public wish for increased safety, they must consent to travel at a rate slower than that of the very fast trains now running. One thing, at all events, appears to be very important, that trains should not be permitted to run at high speed through stations and over points; and on this subject Mr. Fortescue is in communication with the Railway Inspectors, and with the Chairmen and Managers of the principal railways. Mr. Fortescue will take care to keep your Majesty informed on the whole subject, and trusts he has not now troubled your Majesty at too great length.

Lord Northbrook to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, 11*th Aug.* 1873.— . . . Lord Northbrook was very gratified for your Majesty's gracious letter of the 9th January, because it contained an expression of your Majesty's feelings as to the great importance of encouraging cordial relations between the English and the natives of India. The receipt of your Majesty's letter enabled Lord Northbrook upon several public occasions to allude particularly to your Majesty's sentiments upon the subject.

The best officers of Government show great sympathy with the natives, and treat them with courtesy; but Lord Northbrook regrets that he has noticed a less courteous demeanour in some of the more junior officers, among whom the tone is not in this respect altogether satisfactory.

The constant changes in the tenure of appointments has something to do with this change of spirit, for there is less personal acquaintance between British officers and the natives who reside in the country. The Government is endeavouring to prevent this evil as far as may be practicable, but it arises to a great extent from the greater facility in visiting England.

The feeling of hostility against the natives, which was caused by the Mutiny, has now nearly, if not altogether, subsided.

The prejudices of caste which prevent the Hindoos and even the Mohammedans (who have imbibed Hindoo customs in this respect), excepting the most enlightened among them, from eating with Christians, are a great obstacle to free social intercourse; and so is the difference in their customs from our customs in regard to the appearance of women in society.

Those prejudices however are rudely shaken by the spread of education, and there are now many of the most able Hindoos who do not hesitate to dine with us; while the best of the Mohammedans have thrown off their Hindoo traditions, and do the same. As your Majesty takes so great an interest in this subject, Lord Northbrook ventures to enclose the report of a dinner given at Benares by Syed Ahmed, one of the best Mohammedans in India, from which your Majesty will see the progress which is being made in the direction of free social intercourse with Christians.

Your Majesty may rely upon Lord Northbrook using his best exertions to cultivate these feelings, and he knows that Lord and Lady Hobart (whom he had the pleasure of receiving in Calcutta last winter) and Sir Philip Wodehouse are acting in complete accordance with your Majesty's wishes in this respect.[1] . . .

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

QUEBEC, 19*th Sept.* 1873.— . . . Your Majesty is pleased to enquire how matters are going on in

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[1] Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras, and Sir Philip Wodehouse of Bombay.

Canada. Lord Dufferin is sorry to say that the even current of public affairs has been recently disturbed by certain grave charges having been brought against his Ministers, of corrupt dealings with reference to the grant of the Pacific Railway Charter; but the investigation which is now being conducted under the authority of a Royal Commission has already gone far to show that these charges are unfounded. It might be premature, however, to announce to your Majesty what the ultimate verdict may be.

On the 13th of last month Lord Dufferin prorogued Parliament in your Majesty's name. A due intimation of his intention had been communicated to both Houses some time previously. No objection was taken at the time, and there is no doubt the arrangement was in harmony with the wish and the expectations of the majority both in the Senate and in the House of Commons. As a consequence the members had taken advantage of the adjournment to disperse themselves in various directions to their distant homes or the seaboards of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Some had gone to Europe. When, however, the 13th arrived the Opposition were found to have collected their whole strength, and they waited upon Lord Dufferin with a memorial against prorogation. But the signatories to this memorial, though reinforced by a dozen Ministerialists, only represented a minority of the House of Commons. Lord Dufferin therefore reminded these gentlemen that they were not entitled to speak on behalf of Parliament, that seventy of their colleagues were absent, that the whole representation of British Columbia was on the wrong side of the Rocky Mountains, and that having announced in your Majesty's name that prorogation would take place upon a certain day he did not feel authorised to withdraw that pledge or to act in contravention of the advice tendered to him by his responsible Ministers in regard to it. Though Lord Dufferin's act caused considerable irritation at the time amongst those who thought they saw an opportunity of getting into office, public opinion, he is happy to say, seems to be rapidly coming round to his view of the case. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 20*th Sept.* 1873.—Your Majesty having now returned to Balmoral from the West, Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reverts to the subject of the vacant Canonry at Winchester, with regard to which your Majesty desired Mr. Gladstone to make enquiries respecting the clerical position and qualifications of the Rev. Mr. Phipps.[1]

Mr. Gladstone has first to mention that the Bishop Designate of Winchester has expressed a great desire to carry with him to his new diocese, as a Canon, Bishop Macdougall, former diocesan of Labuan; to whose future aid as a Suffragan, if your Majesty should approve, he is disposed to look. Inasmuch as Bishop Macdougall is now Canon of Ely, and there is no great difference in value between the two stalls, this transaction would be little more than a convenient exchange, so that Mr. Gladstone will at present assume that your Majesty would be willing to consent to it, and that the question to be decided is concerning a presentation to a stall at Ely.

Mr. Gladstone finds that Mr. Phipps is a highly respectable gentleman and clergyman, gifted with good sense and qualifications probably rather above the average (except as to preaching), as he holds the post of Rural Dean. Mr. Gladstone, however, humbly states that he could name among his own relations and connections at least four or five clergymen of higher qualifications, none of whom has he thought high enough to submit to your Majesty for Cathedral preferment. If your Majesty will have the goodness to look to the list enclosed herewith, of those whose names he has successively brought forward, it will be found to be composed of men chiefly of high academic distinction, and in every case specially known as scholars, or as weighty writers and divines, or for having rendered eminent service to Education, or as powerful preachers, or very able and effective pastors. Mr. Gladstone thinks that all appointments for which the Prime Minister is responsible in regard to the selection, morally as well as formally, are and ought to be closely watched by the public eye. He feels that the nine persons[1] named within may very well challenge comparison with any like number ever named consecutively by the Crown for like posts of honour, but, adverting to the considerable difference of stamp which would at once be observed, Mr. Gladstone humbly submits his grave doubts whether the nomination of Mr. Phipps would be desirable on this occasion, and whether it might not with advantage be reserved for some contingency in which the question might be approached under different conditions.

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[1] Brother of Sir Charles Phipps, and brother-in-law of Lord Charles FitzRoy.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 1*st Oct.* 1873.—After luncheon heard that the great artist and kind old friend [Sir Edwin Landseer] had died peacefully at eleven. A merciful release, as for the last three years he had been in a most distressing state, half out of his mind, yet not entirely so. The last time I ever saw him was at Chiswick, at Bertie's garden party, two years ago, when he was hardly fit to be about, and looked quite dreadful. He was a great genius in his day, and one of the most popular of English artists. It is strange that both he and Winterhalter, our personal, attached friends of more than thirty years' standing, should have gone within three or four months of each other! I cannot at all realise it. How many an incident do I remember, connected with Landseer! He kindly had shown me how to draw stags' heads, and how to draw in chalks, but I never could manage that well. I possess thirty-nine oil paintings of his, sixteen chalk drawings (framed), two frescos, and many sketches.

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[1] Professors Mozley, Lightfoot, King, and Rawlinson; Dr. Liddon, Mr. Kingsley, Dr. Miller, Dr. Barry, and Mr. Woodard.

Queen Victoria to the German Crown Princess. [*Extract.*]

Balmoral Castle, 1*st Oct.* 1873.— . . . To me he [King Victor Emmanuel of Italy] has never been the same, since he undermined his own uncle's kingdom, and took that, as well as other people's, near relations of his own; and it used to be my pride and dear Papa's, to be able to say, that your excellent father-in-law never would let himself become a tool of Bismarck's ambition, as the King of Italy had been of Cavour's. Alas! I can say that no longer, and '66 destroyed that bright difference. This does not mean that the unity of Germany was not right, or not wished for by me and dear Papa. We both earnestly wished for that, for one head, one army, and one diplomacy; but not for dethroning other Princes, and taking their private property and palaces—no, that was, and is, a grave mistake. And I never could live in their palaces, if I were the Emperor or you. Ever your devoted Mama, V. R.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

Neues Palais, 4*th October* 1873.

My beloved Mama,—Many affectionate thanks for your dear letter by messenger which I received yesterday. What you say about the King of Italy is quite true! though your remark about the Emperor, and the taking away of the Palaces, etc., is *not quite* just.

You know what *I think* of Bismarck's ways of bringing about things, *how* I hate what is unscrupulous, violent, dishonest, unfair, etc., and *I* do NOT worship success, or think military laurels the most desirable thing on earth, but here there is much to be said on both sides! *Palaces* my father-in-law never *took*, he PAID for them and they are legally *his*, and those who sold them had by far the *best* of the bargain! We never should have put our foot into a place about which there was the *slightest doubt*. *Those* in which *we have* been, we had as much right to inhabit as you to wear the Kohinoor or place the Indian arms in the Armoury at Windsor!

The *Entwickelung* of Germany has *not* taken place in the way I fondly hoped it would, and there are *many* measures which I *cannot* admire or approve of—but I firmly believe that what *has* been done, has been done for the *good* of Germany, and of Europe, as I *also* believe that the unity of Italy is a good and wholesome thing! Annexations are cruel and painful things, and it is most distressing when relations have to take up arms against each other! The right of conquest is a very hard one.

God knows *I* am *not* one who admires it, but *it has* been OFTEN of the greatest use. England's Empire over the East is the best example of it, and even *there* Englishmen have NOT always shown themselves as scrupulous, humane, civilised, and enlightened as they *should* have done. So really I do not think we deserve more reproach, although you will object that Orientals are *not* Europeans, and cannot be treated in the same manner!

I am more attached to the cause of liberty and progress than to any other, and I *do* believe that the events of '66 and '70–'71 are a step in that direction, in SPITE of those who brought them about. . . .

I am being painted by M. Angeli from Vienna, who is the first portrait painter in Germany nowadays, the only one who can replace Winterhalter except Richter. I think the picture will be very good; it is to be for Affie, as a wedding present. . . .

Good-bye, dearest Mama, God bless you. Kissing your dear hand, I remain, etc., VICTORIA.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Copy*.] BALMORAL, *6th October* 1873.

DEAR LORD KIMBERLEY,—The Queen has not yet had time to go through all the papers on the Pacific Railway question which you have sent her.

Her Majesty has read the draft of your despatch to Lord Dufferin, but, before approving, wishes to call your attention to the concluding paragraph, which scarcely expresses any approbation of his conduct.

Sir J. Macdonald's Ministry has hitherto possessed in the Canadian House of Commons the same majority proportionately as that which Mr. Gladstone enjoys here. Very grave charges were made, with the usual violence which characterises party proceedings across the Atlantic, against the Canadian Ministers, who do not seek to escape from an investigation into their conduct, but simply advised the Governor-General to prorogue Parliament as had been previously promised.

To have rejected this advice, and to have accepted that of the Opposition tendered in a most unusual manner, would have resulted in the resignation of Ministers, and would, moreover, have implied that the Governor-General had formed an opinion on the yet uninvestigated charges brought against his Government.

Lord Dufferin preferred acting in what would appear to have been a constitutional manner while referring the charges to a Royal Commission of Enquiry.

The Queen perceives that in your letter to me you consider that his Excellency's action has been strictly constitutional, and the best that could have been taken in circumstances of peculiar difficulty and embarrassment.

Her Majesty therefore thinks that, as Lord Dufferin has in this instance so faithfully represented her in acting in accordance with the advice tendered by the Administration possessing the confidence of the House of Commons, he deserves to receive some warmer commendation than the negative form of approval expressed in the words that the Government see no reason to question the propriety of his conduct. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Kimberley to General Ponsonby.

KIMBERLEY HOUSE, *8th October* 1873.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—Mr. Gladstone concurs in the words "fully approve" in the despatch to Lord Dufferin, which I hope will have met her Majesty's wishes. I have telegraphed to you that the despatch will go by Thursday's mail unless I hear to the contrary.

It is very important it should not be delayed. Yours sincerely, KIMBERLEY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, *7th Oct.* 1873.—Lord Granville, with his humble duty to your Majesty, regrets to inform you that Mr. Hammond[1] has, on the completion of fifty years' admirable service, resigned his office.

With some slight faults of tact and manner, he was one of the best public servants whom Lord Granville has known in your Majesty's service.

It takes a long time to construct the amount of knowledge and tradition which he possessed.

Lord Granville submits the name of Lord Tenterden, now Assistant Under-Secretary, as his successor.

General Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, *8th October* 1873.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—I have laid before the Queen your letter respecting Count d'Harcourt.[2]

Her Majesty commands me to repeat that she has never received Foreign Ministers here. Count Lavradio came on a special family mission, and so did the Minister of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen a few years ago. With these exceptions the Queen has never received any of the Corps Diplomatique here, where she retires for a time from anything like State ceremonial, but not from real business, which as you know follows the Queen everywhere, and which she never fails to perform, to the great concern of her doctors, who would wish for complete repose as others have, for a few weeks at least. It is a part of the official business of the country that requires her Majesty to hold Councils here, and, had there been any serious and exceptional political reason why Count d'Harcourt should have an audience, the Queen would not hesitate to grant him one. But he now comes of his own accord from Paris to ask for an audience on ordinary business, and the Queen feels that if she granted this request it would be impossible to refuse that of other diplomatic members or of Royal personages who hitherto she has not been in the habit of receiving here. Thus a most inconvenient precedent would be established. The Queen believes that a similar practice is followed at other Courts. Thus, for instance, it may be presumed that an Ambassador at St. Petersburg who wished to present his letters of recall at the present moment would not proceed to the Crimea for this purpose.

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[1] Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office from 1854 to 1873. Created a peer in 1874, and died in 1890.

[2] The outgoing French Ambassador, who wished to be allowed to present his letters of recall personally to the Queen at Balmoral.

At any rate, her Majesty, who has hitherto steadfastly and systematically declined to receive Foreign Ministers at Balmoral, cannot make an exception on the present occasion. . . . Yours very truly, Henry F. Ponsonby.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

[*Undated.* ? *Nov.* 1873.]—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and in obedience to your Majesty's gracious commands conveyed to him through his Royal Highness Prince

Leopold, he now notes the course of events in Canada since he last wrote.

At that time the Royal Commission was still sitting, and the evidence incomplete. Since then the whole story has come out, and Lord Dufferin regrets to inform your Majesty that it has not proved creditable to Sir John Macdonald and some of his colleagues.

The accusations preferred against them may be divided under four heads. First—of having sold the Pacific Railway Contract to an American Ring. Secondly—of having corruptly modified its terms in the interests of Sir Hugh Allan. Thirdly—of having taken private bribes. Fourthly—of having solicited large sums of money from Sir Hugh Allan while negotiating with him on behalf of Canada, and of having applied these sums to the control of the elections.

Lord Dufferin is happy to say that, so far as we yet know, the late Canadian Government—as it must now be called—has been exonerated from the three first of these charges, but the latter has been undoubtedly brought home to them with fatal effect.

As soon as the complete evidence had reached Lord Dufferin's hands, he demanded a confidential interview with the Commissioners, and having confirmed his own convictions by a comparison of them with the conclusions of the Chairman, he wrote to Sir John Macdonald to inform him of the impression which had been made upon his mind. He added that he did not consider it his duty to intervene until Parliament should have dealt with the matter, but that inasmuch as the decision of Parliament might itself be partially tainted by the corruption disclosed, he should hold himself free to require the resignation of his Ministers in the event of their winning by anything short of a very commanding majority. He further suggested that Sir John Macdonald should not commit his colleagues, or his party, to the support of an untenable position, or the justification of inexcusable conduct, but that he should obtain an acquittal at the hands of the House of Commons in respect of those accusations which had been disproved, while providing by means of a suitable amendment for an honourable retreat from office on the fourth count, which it was impossible to defend.

Parliament met on the 23rd of October, and the debate upon the Address lasted for eight days. The speeches were very long, but possessed a rude kind of vigour, though the contest resembled rather that of country folk fighting with bludgeons, than of trained soldiers wielding effectual weapons.

At first the Government were confident of victory, but as the debate went on unexpected defections took place in their ranks, and at last Sir John tendered his resignation.

Sir John Macdonald did not speak until quite late in the debate, and when he rose he was scarcely able to stand, so great had been the strain upon his nervous system, but to the astonishment of his friends he delivered a vigorous and trenchant speech which lasted for five hours. Lord Dufferin is not permitted to be present at the debates, but when Lady Dufferin returned from the House at three o'clock in the morning, she thought it necessary to rehearse the whole of this oration with appropriate gesture for the Governor-General's information.

Lord Dufferin considers it highly honourable to the Canadian Parliament that they should have thus vindicated the national credit, and have branded with their displeasure proceedings which, making every allowance that can be suggested, were certainly blameworthy.

Lord Dufferin sent for Mr. Mackenzie the same day that Sir John resigned. This gentleman has formed a Government with respect to which Lord Dufferin will permit himself to inform your Majesty by an early opportunity.

Memorandum: Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

12*th Nov.* 1873.—Sir John Coleridge, Attorney-General to your Majesty, is humbly recommended, by Mr. Gladstone, to succeed Sir W. Bovill as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.[1]

Mr. James,[2] the Solicitor-General, is in like manner recommended to be Attorney-General; and Mr. Harcourt, M.P. for Oxford, to be Solicitor-General.

Mr. Gladstone proposes that Mr. James should have the offer of being sworn of your Majesty's Privy Council.

Mr. Gladstone humbly takes leave to add that the Cabinet have taken this opportunity of recording their opinion that, with the passing of the Judicature Act, all claims of either or both Law officers to a succession as of right to any particular judicial office (claims which were never adequately established) have naturally dropped; so that their promotion would henceforward rest on qualification and service only, not on the possession of the post of Law officer.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Dean Stanley.*

Balmoral, 13*th Nov.* 1873.— . . . The Queen *now* turns with much anxiety to the *very* pressing question of the *state* of the *English* Church; its Romanising tendencies which she fears are on the increase, its relations with other Protestant Churches, and the *universal struggle*, which has begun between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant Governments in general. She is sure that the Dean has heard and seen much in Italy which will throw light on this last. But as regards the English Church, which she perceives is being greatly threatened with disestablishment, action seems becoming necessary. This disestablishment the Queen would regret. She thinks a *complete Reformation* is what we want. But if *that* is *impossible*, the Archbishop should have the *power* given him, by *Parliament*, to *stop all* these Ritualistic practices, dressings, bowings, etc., and everything of that kind, and, *above all*, *all* attempts at *confession*. As the

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[1] Sir J. Coleridge became eventually Lord Coleridge and Chief Justice of England.

[2] Eventually raised to the peerage as Lord James of Hereford,

Ecclesiastical Courts can afford no *assistance* on this head, let the Bishops ask for power to put a stop to all these *new* and *very* dangerous as well as absurd practices, and at the same time, give permission to other Protestant Ministers to preach in our churches, and where there is no other church to perform their different services in the same, as is always *done* abroad.

The Queen states all these points very crudely to the Dean, as her mind is greatly occupied with the state of the Church in England, and with the terrible amount of *bigotry* and *self-sufficiency* and *contempt* of all *other Protestant Churches*, of which she had some *incredible* instances the other day. The English Church should bethink itself of its dangers from *Papacy*, instead of trying to widen the breach with *all* other Protestant Churches, and to magnify small differences of form. The English Church should stretch out its arms to other Protestant Churches. The Queen has the greatest confidence in the Dean's courage and energy and wishes he could inspire the Archbishop and others with the same. For the time is coming, if not come, when *something will have* to be done, or—the Church will *fall*.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 15*th November* 1873.

DEAR LORD KIMBERLEY,—The Queen commands me to return to you the accompanying letter which her Majesty has read with much interest.

You seem to consider that Lord Dufferin would have been bound to have accepted *sans phrase* a vote of confidence in the Government by the Canadian House of Commons, although the vote of the majority may have been vitiated in its composition, while on the other hand Lord Dufferin apparently believes he was justified in putting a gentle pressure on Ministers (in whom he had no longer any confidence) so as to induce them to retire.

Her Majesty, as you know, has always respected the obligations which exist between the Queen and her Ministry, but these obligations are mutual and honourable. . . .

Whether the Ministers resigned because urged to do so by Lord Dufferin, or because they perceived public opinion was against them, is probably not yet known, but it is the best solution of the difficulty, and one which you evidently approve. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Kimberley to General Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 18*th November* 1873.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I quite agree that the resignation of the Canadian Ministers was the best solution of the difficulty, and if I had been in Lord Dufferin's place I should have applied as much pressure as I thought discreet, to induce them to retire. I apprehend that this is just what Lord Dufferin did, although not having yet full details I do not know precisely what his action was during the final crisis. The object I had in view in the letters I wrote to him was to let him see that I thought the action of his Ministers indefensible, without giving him any direct instruction to get rid of them. I had two reasons for abstaining from a more direct expression of my opinion :

(1) That if it were to be known that the Home Government had instructed the Governor-General on this point, it would awaken the greatest jealousy in the Colony ; and (2) that these matters are of so great delicacy and the proper action depends so much on the circumstances of the moment, and personal communication with the principal persons concerned, that it is much more likely that a competent Governor-General would decide rightly for himself than that the Secretary of State should be able to guide his action. I am sure that an attempt to set aside or counteract a decision of the Canadian Parliament,

where that decision did not accord with our views on this side of the water, would lead to serious difficulties, and tend to divert the minds of the Canadians from the true questions at issue. In saying this I am quite aware how much may be done by the influence of the Governor-General judiciously exercised, and it seems to me that Lord Dufferin has fulfilled his functions, in circumstances of great difficulty, with much discretion, and that, without going beyond constitutional limits, he has acted in the sense which approves itself to her Majesty's judgment. Sincerely yours, KIMBERLEY.

The Earl of Kimberley to General Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 1*st December* 1873.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—As the despatch to Lord Dufferin begins by stating that I have laid his despatch before the Queen, it should undoubtedly have conveyed "her Majesty's approval," and I have altered it accordingly.

The Queen would, of course, not desire that the usual practice should be departed from of reserving the use of her Majesty's name directly for the more important despatches.

It would greatly weaken the influence and authority of her Majesty's name, if on ordinary occasions the instructions of the Secretary of State were conveyed as from the Queen herself. Sincerely yours, KIMBERLEY.

Mr. Cardwell to General Ponsonby.

WAR OFFICE, 8*th December* 1873.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I will not fail to keep before me the wish which the Queen has expressed to you that, when practicable, the Queen's approbation should appear alone in a despatch, and that the comments of the Secretary of State or the Government should be embodied in a separate document.

I believe I am right in understanding it to be her Majesty's wish that this should be so done as not to establish an entirely new rule: I mean not to draw so marked a separation between cases which are thought worthy of her Majesty's approbation, and other cases, as to make it impossible to convey the Queen's personal approval in any case except one of the very first importance. This I think would be a departure from her Majesty's wish, and restrict too much the number of the occasions on which that approval would be given. If I am right in my interpretation, it will be not an unbending rule, but a general principle, which your letter will have laid down for my guidance. Believe me, very truly yours, EDWARD CARDWELL.

Note by General Ponsonby.

9*th Dec.* 1873.—You are quite right. The Queen does not desire to have a very marked rule laid down as to when her Majesty's name should be used or not, which must depend on circumstances.—H. P.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Argyll.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 21*st December* 1873.

MY DEAR DUKE,—I *do* certainly agree in your view of the *Protestant Churches* not *dividing* each other too much, in such matters, and we had an instance of it, in Archie Brown's child, being by his, and his brother's, wish (although they are very strict Presbyterians) christened by the Dean of Windsor, as there was no Scotch clergyman who could come to the house. But what *I feel* is, that in very *great Scotch* families, *if* attention is not paid to *this*, the christening may be made an excuse, a *stepping stone*, to their becoming *Episcopalians*, and as Janie's sister is *so very high Church*, and the higher classes in Scotland are so very much *inclined that* way, it will require firmness and watchfulness on your part to prevent this. The more so, as, if Louise and Lorne have no children, Archie's[1] may become the *direct line.* But *his boy was* christened by our dear Dr. Macleod. The Sutherlands', Atholls' and Roxburghes' grandchildren have all been *christened* Presbyterians, and the Scotch clergyman at *Kelso came up* for that purpose to London, to christen Lady Charles Kerr's children.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.*

Osborne, 23*rd Dec.* 1873.— . . . With respect to the Emperor of Russia's offer of a Regiment, I had no doubt myself as to its not being advisable for you to accept it. But I consulted Lord Granville before answering you, who entirely agrees.

You will remember that the question occurred some years ago already when the Emperor of Austria thought of offering you one, and it was not thought right to accept it.

The same thing had been intended for dear papa, who would have liked to accept it, but the Government and everyone said that it would be most unpopular in this country, and he quite agreed. This precedent applies much more strongly to you who are not a German Prince, as dear papa was by birth, and it was refused then.

It can be no offence to the Emperor of Russia to say that it is not the custom to accept foreign Regiments in England, and that, though much flattered by the kind intention, you cannot accept it.

It would be very unpopular here; besides one ought never to accept what one *cannot* return, and I could never offer one of my Regiments to a foreign Prince or Sovereign. Our customs are totally different, and I think we are far more independent without all these foreign honours. You will, I am sure, see this when you reflect on it. . . .

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[1] Lord Archibald Campbell was Lord Lorne's next brother, and his son is the present Duke of Argyll.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

[*Extract.*]

SANDRINGHAM, 25*th Dec.* 1873.— . . . I must confess to you that I am very much disappointed that you do not approve of my accepting the Regiment the Emperor of Russia has so kindly offered me, as I certainly did not think that you would withhold your consent. I hardly think that the matter can be looked upon in any political light, and the Emperor could hardly have expected a Regiment in return, as he knows it is not the custom. The acceptance of an Austrian Regiment at the time it was proposed (when I was not of age) is, I think, a different case.

Affie has a Regiment as the Emperor of Russia's son-in-law, and will also there wear the uniform of a Cavalry Regiment (which is now a Prussian one); surely there could be no harm in his eldest brother having a foreign Regiment, I should think. I believe I am not incorrect in stating that George IV had the Hon. Colonelcy of an Austrian Regiment (at least so I was told at Vienna this year), which would form a precedent.

Even if it were not so, times change; and an English Prince marrying for the first time a Russian Princess is in itself a great change, so that I cannot conceive that the alteration of any old-established custom here could be unpopular in England. Anyhow I leave the matter under your consideration. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 28*th December* 1873.

DEAREST BERTIE,—As I telegraphed, I have again and more fully asked the opinions of the principal Ministers as well as of others well experienced in military matters, and they entirely concur in the opinion I expressed to you, and which I am sure the Emperor will at once understand.

George IV's case is no precedent because the Austrian Regiment was given him at the end of the great war in which he was one of the great Powers whose armies fought side by side for the liberation of Europe from the first Napoleon.

I think it will be in every way wiser and better to adhere to the precedent of not accepting foreign Regiments. Affie's case is quite different, because he is to be the Emperor's son-in-law and will live often in Russia. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 31*st Dec.* 1873.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has to express to your Majesty his concern on finding that without his knowledge, expectation, or authority, some words spoken by him on the day of his daughter's marriage,[1] and including a reference to your Majesty's condescending kindness and that of the King and Queen of the Belgians, should have found their way into the public journals. They were spoken in a private room at the Rectory at Hawarden, to a company consisting exclusively (except a few members of the family) of what he may term cottage-neighbours: to them many things would be freely said, after their presence at the church in the morning, which could not be freely or becomingly said to the public, or for the public; there was no permission given to any reporter to enter, and none was known to be there. Mr. Gladstone fears that the whole, taken out of its proper atmosphere, must read like a piece of Pharisaism and vulgarity; and though his intention was simply to point his acknowledgment of the kindness of the poor and lowly by reference to your Majesty's kindness, he now humbly apologises to your Majesty for that which, being published, bears in his opinion an unseemly aspect; so that he cannot forbear troubling your Majesty, though almost ashamed to do it, with these words of explanation. He is sure your Majesty will receive them indulgently, and without notice.

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[1] Miss Agnes Gladstone was married at Hawarden on 27th December 1873 to the Rev. Edward C. Wickham, Headmaster of Wellington College, afterwards Dean of Lincoln.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XIII

On Saturday, 24th January 1874, just twelve days before the session was due to open, Mr. Gladstone surprised the political world by announcing that there would be an immediate dissolution of Parliament, and that the policy on which the Government would appeal to the electorate for a renewal of support was a promise of total abolition of income tax. The bait did not prove sufficiently attractive. The gains of the Conservatives were so considerable that for the first time since 1841 they had a clear and substantial majority; the final numbers being, Conservatives 350, Liberals (including two Labour members) 245, and Irish Home Rulers 57. Mr. Gladstone's Ministry followed the precedent set in 1868 and resigned without meeting Parliament; and Mr. Disraeli at once formed a Cabinet which included Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon as well as Lord Derby and Lord Cairns. The Opposition went through the session without a regular leader, as Mr. Gladstone attended only occasionally. But there was little Government business of high importance, save that the income tax was reduced to the low figure of twopence, and a long-felt grievance in the Church of Scotland was removed by the universal transfer of lay patronage to the congregations.

The chief interest of the session was found in a Public Worship Regulation Bill, for restraining ritualistic excesses in the Church of England. It was introduced in the House of Lords by Archbishop Tait on behalf of the bench of Bishops, and warmly recommended to her Ministers by the Queen. Though viewed with much suspicion by the High Church party, who were strongly represented in the Ministry, the Bill proved to be very popular as one "to put down Ritualism," and passed, with certain agreed amendments, all its important stages in both Houses without a division. In the House of Commons, where Mr. Gladstone reappeared to denounce it with vehement but ineffectual hostility, Mr. Disraeli adopted it and piloted it safely through; even persuading the House, when the Lords at the last moment, in disregard of what Lord Salisbury contemptuously called "bluster," had struck out a Commons amendment, to acquiesce, and not allow resentment at the speech of that "great master of gibes and flouts and jeers," his colleague, to wreck the Bill.

The Queen's second son, the Duke of Edinburgh, was married at St. Petersburg on 23rd January to the Grand Duchess Marie, daughter of the Emperor Alexander II of Russia; and the bride and bridegroom were welcomed by the Queen at Windsor on the 7th March. Subsequently in May the Emperor himself came for a week's visit to England as her Majesty's guest, and magnificent entertainments were provided for him.

It was a distracted year in France. The Bonapartists, who organised a successful pilgrimage to Chislehurst in March on the attainment of his majority by the son of Napoleon III, made some progress, and began to be regarded by the Republicans as their most dangerous opponents. Public opinion was still too divided to permit of any Constitutional legislation. In Germany the Falk Laws were further extended and strengthened. A fanatical opponent made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Bismarck at Kissingen. The Chancellor's power and ruthlessness were shown in the successful prosecution and imprisonment of Count Harry von Arnim, the most distinguished of German diplomatists, at the time Ambassador in Paris, who had set himself against his chief's anti-Catholic policy and had published confidential documents. In Spain a military *pronunciamento* at the beginning of January put Marshal Serrano in power; and the year was occupied with an intermittent and inconclusive civil war between the Government troops and the Carlists. These recurring disorders strengthened the movement for a Bourbon restoration, and in December the ex-Queen Isabella's son was proclaimed King as Alphonso XII.

On the Gold Coast, Sir Garnet Wolseley's expeditionary force, after some sharp engagements which cost valuable lives, captured Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, in February, and compelled King Coffi Calkalli to accept the British terms. India suffered from a serious famine, but the energetic measures of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, averted disaster. The Fiji Islands were offered by their native chiefs to the Queen, and, after careful investigation on the spot by Sir Hercules Robinson, were annexed to the British Empire.

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CHAPTER XIII

1874

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Archbishop Tait.*

OSBORNE, 15*th Jan.* 1874.—The Queen is anxious to hear the result of the meeting of the Bishops. It is clear that the state of the Church, the liberties taken and the defiance shown by the Clergy of the High Church and Ritualistic party, is so great that something *must be done* to check it, and prevent its continuation. To have effect, and to give confidence, the Queen thinks that there ought to be *an* admixture of *Laymen* with the Bishop, to aid him in preventing these Romanising practices. Could not also some alteration in the Rubric take place, to bring things back to what they were before this movement took place ?

As things stand at present the Archbishops' and Bishops' authority is brought absolutely into contempt. . . .

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON PARK, 16*th Jan.* 1874.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The Archbishop has laid before the Bishops assembled at Lambeth the imperative necessity for some vigorous action respecting the present state of the Church, and has communicated to the principal Bishops, as your Majesty allowed him, your Majesty's view of the gravity of the circumstances.

The Bishops, by an almost unanimous vote, authorised the Archbishops of Canterbury and York[1] to draw up a Bill to be brought into Parliament, empowering the Bishop of each diocese, assisted by certain of the Clergy and Laity carefully selected, to control the services of the several Churches within their respective jurisdictions. This plan seems to be in accordance with the suggestion contained in your Majesty's letter this morning received.

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[1] Dr. Thomson was Archbishop of York.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is of opinion that it would not be wise to complicate matters by introducing any proposal at present for the alteration of rubrics. Probably it would be found that the evils now complained of would disappear under a proper and vigorous administration of the law in the manner proposed. The proposal to alter rubrics ought, in the Archbishop's judgment, to be kept carefully distinct from an improvement in the mode of procedure.

Considerable progress has already been made in drafting a Bill, and as soon as it is sufficiently advanced, the Archbishop will not fail to communicate its exact provisions for your Majesty's approval. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

Osborne, 19*th Jan.* 1874.— . . . Regarding the passage which she wishes omitted [1] (and which opinion is strongly shared by a friend to whom she showed the charmingly written chapter), she feels and knows how much such an allusion *might* hurt the feelings of faithful servants, which she thinks should *always* be *as much* considered *as our own.* It may be that some footman who was out with her did not understand her, and the dogs did not (most certainly) obey her as she well remembers, but this sweeping observation would be *quoted* and do *great harm.* She therefore *must* ask that it be omitted, which she is sure Mr. Martin will agree in, when he reads this explanation. . . .

She fears Mr. Martin will think the Queen rather tenacious and troublesome.

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[1] The reference is, of course, to the *Life of the Prince Consort*, upon which Mr. Theodore Martin was at work.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 20*th Jan.* 1874.— . . . The progress of these alarming Romanising tendencies has become *so serious* of late, the young clergy seem so tainted with these totally anti-protestant doctrines, and are so self-willed and defiant, that the Queen thinks it absolutely necessary to point out the importance of avoiding any important appointments and preferments in the Church, which *have* ANY leaning that way. The Queen has had conversations with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester,[1] and other clergymen, and *all* speak with alarm of the state of the Church, which the Archbishop thinks in great danger of being upset, if things go on as they do now. Protestant to the very *heart's core* as the Queen is, she is shocked and grieved to see England forgetting her position, and the higher classes and so many of the young clergy tainted with this leaning towards Rome! for it is nothing else.

The Queen urged the Archbishop to propose to the Government some means by which, assisted by the Laity, the Bishops should have the power of checking practices which are most dangerous and objectionable, and totally foreign to the spirit and former usages of the English Church, but which *at present* they have no power to stop.

The Queen must *most earnestly* urge the consideration and, she hopes, adoption of a proposal to Parliament, of some such measure, as the Archbishop will, she knows, propose.

The Queen must speak *openly*, and therefore wishes to say that she thinks this especially necessary on the part of Mr. Gladstone, who is *supposed* to have rather a bias towards High Church views himself, but the danger of which she feels sure he cannot fail to recognise.

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[1] Dr. Harold Browne.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 21*st Jan.* 1874.—Mr. Gladstone, having unhappily been confined to bed by a tightness of the chest, threatening if neglected a bronchial attack, and serious interruption of his occupations, was unable to make any report on Monday of the proceedings of the Cabinet; in which, however, there appears to have been nothing requiring at the moment special notice from your Majesty.

He feels it, however, to be necessary at this juncture to place briefly, and most humbly but not less earnestly, before your Majesty, his view of the present position of the Government and of political affairs.

Your Majesty is aware with how much reluctance, and with what anticipations of difficulty, the Cabinet resumed office in March last, after their defeat on the Irish University Bill, and after the refusal or failure of the Opposition to form a Government.

The weakness, in the midst of which they recommenced their tasks, has been aggravated, not only by the mode of opposition since as well as previously pursued in the House of Commons, and by the rejection of their measures on several occasions in the House of Lords, but, it is fair to add, by the ordinarily unfavourable results of a prolonged series of single elections in different parts of the country, which has given countenance and plausibility to the allegation that the majority of the present House of Commons does not correctly represent the opinion of the people at large.

It has even become a matter of much difficulty, and some hazard, to fill the official posts in the House of Commons in an efficient manner, from the amount of uncertainty prevailing as to particular seats. And the circumstances, to which Mr. Gladstone has referred, have assumed a graver character from month to month, down to the present period. At the same time, one of the usual constitutional resources seems to be cut off. Mr. Gladstone has felt, in consonance with what has fallen from your Majesty respecting the proceedings of last March, that the Cabinet could not ask your Majesty to make another attempt at the formation of a new Government from the party in opposition, until after having advised that there should be a dissolution of the present Parliament, in order to ascertain, in the most authentic manner, the disposition of the nation to continue, or withdraw, the confidence which it has heretofore placed in your Majesty's actual advisers.

The time has now arrived when it has become possible to forecast, in a considerable degree, the business of the coming Session, and the demands which it will make on the strength of the Ministry. The finance of the year is likely to be of extreme importance. It may even probably embrace the abolition of the Income Tax. It is certain to impose much labour and responsibility. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion, amidst the circumstances which are occurring in the constituencies almost from week to week, the calls, which it is likely to make, are such as would require on the part of the Government a degree of strength and authority which without some renovating process it cannot reasonably hope to possess. After a dissolution, they would either find themselves armed with a more recent and available declaration of national confidence, or they might give way to others who might have acquired that confidence in their stead.

As the time remaining before the 5th of February[1] is now very short, Mr. Gladstone, mindful of your Majesty's commands on a former occasion, desires humbly to apprise your Majesty that he will feel it to be his duty to bring this subject before his colleagues on Friday, when they will again assemble, and when he hopes they may all be present. He will then recommend to them that they should humbly and dutifully advise your Majesty to anticipate by a very few months what is likely to happen before the year is far advanced, and forthwith to dissolve the existing Parliament; as the best means of relieving not only both the great political parties, but even in some degree your Majesty and the country, from the disadvantage and the weakness of a false position.[1]

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[1] The day on which Parliament was to meet.

And unless your Majesty shall see cause to differ essentially from such a view of affairs as Mr. Gladstone has given, he trusts that, having regard to the important consideration and urgency of time, your Majesty may be graciously pleased to assent to it.

There may be other courses open, but Mr. Gladstone has not been able to discern any satisfactory alternative. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

18 Carlton H. Terrace, 21*st Jan.* 1874.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He trusts that your Majesty will not think it presumptuous on his part to express respectfully a hope that your Majesty will think Mr. Gladstone's proposal to dissolve judicious.

He has consulted no one but Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Granville, and they are of opinion that it will clear the position very much for both parties and for your Majesty.[2]

To meet Parliament in the present state of the Government would not only be bad for the Government itself, and for the cause of government in general, but also for the next Government, if the majority is changed.

The Conservatives must from the nature of things be factious, and show opposition on all little as well as large questions, and it will at the same time be very difficult for their leaders to avoid imprudent pledges.

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[1] The Cabinet, at its meeting on the following Friday, 23rd January, unanimously concurred with its chief; and the letter in which Mr. Gladstone so reported to the Queen is printed in the *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 14.

[2] Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Goschen, the Ministers responsible for the Army and Navy, had resisted the serious reductions which Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had asked them to make in their Estimates; and it was this deadlock which provided the occasion for the dissolution. See *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 14, and *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 8.

The chance of maintaining the Liberal majority lies in the confidence which is unimpaired in the financial qualities of Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 22*nd Jan.* 1874.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's letter with some surprise, as she understood from what he said to her at Windsor, and wrote to her only the other day, that he did not think of recommending a dissolution till near the end of the Session, and possibly not even till next year.

The Queen fears that this sudden determination, taken on the eve of the meeting of Parliament, may be considered by some persons as a sign of weakness on the part of the Government.

But the Queen fully appreciates the difficulties of Mr. Gladstone's position, and should there be no public business which requires the immediate attention of Parliament, will readily consent to its dissolution, as she thinks that in the present circumstances it will be desirable to obtain an expression of the national opinion.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 22*nd Jan.* 1874.—Mr. Gladstone takes the earliest opportunity at his command of submitting, together with his humble duty, the reply which your Majesty will justly expect to the general observations contained in your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th.[1] Those observations had reference to the present excesses of Ritualism in the Church of England; and they bore practically upon the two subjects, first of legislation, secondly of patronage.

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[1] See above, p. 302.

With regard to the first of these, namely, legislation, Mr. Gladstone can venture upon assuring your Majesty that proposals of this kind, proceeding from the Archbishop of Canterbury, will be entertained with the utmost respect by your Majesty's advisers. On three or four separate occasions, the Archbishop, supported by the body of the Episcopate, and as Mr. Gladstone believes of the Church at large, has recommended to the Government legislative measures for the benefit of the Church; and on every one of these occasions, if his memory serves him rightly, his Grace's proposals have been accepted by the Government, and Bills have been carried through both Houses without any deviation from the basis which he had recommended. Mr. Gladstone, however, must in candour add that it has been only by extreme care, and by very great effort, that this result has been attained, so far as he has been practically conversant with the case, that is to say, in the House of Commons. In truth it is just possible, and no more, to carry bills upon which the authorities of the Church are united, and where they are also sustained by the great body of reasonable and enlightened men in the Church, clerical and lay. Even this is much; for practically it had hardly been attempted for an hundred and fifty years, or more, preceding our own time. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely convinced that this union of sentiment among reasonable men in the Church is a condition absolutely necessary to the success of such attempts at legislation; and that if the violent internal controversies, which so greatly strain the framework of the Church, when carried on within, were transferred to the floors of the two Houses, the probable, indeed the almost certain, end would be the total banishment of the subject from the Parliamentary arena, by the disestablishment of the Church itself.

Mr. Gladstone is aware that by authorities of great weight this, or some other positive, rupture is expected as the consequence of the existing uneasiness and strife. As one of these authorities, he may mention the Bishop of Rochester,[1] in a recent charge ; and your Majesty appears to cite, in the same sense, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Gladstone feels no surprise at these alarms, and is not himself wholly free from them. More than thirty years ago, he was very greatly under their influence. Now, with advancing years, not usually more sanguine, he is even more deeply struck with the tenacious vitality of the Church of England (which Dr. Döllinger,[2] in a masterly survey, declares to be the most powerful National Church in Christendom) than with its serious dangers, and its unquestionably great and grievous scandals ; and he is inclined to believe that wisdom and gentleness (much in the spirit of a recent declaration of the Bishop of Exeter[3]), steady respect for the laws and spirit of the Church, and the careful choice of the best men for offices of influence and power, may under Providence both avert a crisis, and lead to the gradual mitigation of the evils which abound. He does not, however, by any means exclude from view legislative remedies of an appropriate kind for specific mischiefs.

Your Majesty will thus perceive that Mr. Gladstone by no means undervalues the question of the Patronage of the Crown, to which he now turns. And first he humbly offers his thanks for the very mild and circumspect terms of the allusion to himself. It is indeed true, not only that he is supposed by some "to have rather a leaning to High Church views," but that he is from time to time denounced, in some quarters, as a Ritualist, a Papist, and also a Rationalist. He bears in silence the ascription to him of these or any other names, for he has perfect confidence in the general good sense of his countrymen : but he never has at any time assumed for himself, or admitted rightly to belong to him, any party designation whatever in religion; inasmuch as the voluntary assumption of such designations would compromise (in his opinion) what he cherishes as the first of earthly blessings, his mental freedom.

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[1] Dr. Claughton.

[2] The leader of the Old Catholics in Germany. See above, Introductory Note to ch. 10, p. 99.

[3] Dr. Temple, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

But he is certain your Majesty does him the justice to believe that he has not at any time regulated his recommendations to your Majesty, in matters of ecclesiastical patronage, by so poor and unworthy a standard as his own impressions or belief in religion. He has endeavoured, from first to last, to make merit the passport to the Royal favour: and among all the various elements and kinds of merit, he never has forgotten or will forget, or knowingly pass by, that of loyal fidelity to the laws and institutions of the Church of England, such as the people of England know it, and love it, and such as the Reformation of the Church and its after-history have made it.

There are, he does not doubt, a considerable number of persons, among the clergy (whose case alone is now under view), having a bad title either legal or moral to the position which they hold. Your Majesty refers with perfect justice to the excesses of those whose doings have brought them most into the public eye. There are others in respect to whom the mischief, less apparent, is more subtle. There is not a doubt that a certain number of clergymen not only deny the authority of the Holy Scriptures and of the Church whose Ministers they are, but disbelieve the deity of our Saviour, His Incarnation, and His Resurrection. Mr. Gladstone reserves his judgment as to the wisdom of searching out all these classes of persons, to expel them from their places; but he holds them all to be altogether beyond the limits, from within which alone it is his duty to recommend to your Majesty with a view to ecclesiastical preferment.

Amidst the pain and apprehension caused by these extremes, which engender and exasperate one another, he has often to remind himself, and even presumes to remind your Majesty, by way of consolation, of that which he believes to be as indisputable as it is creditable. For centuries past there has not been a time of so much practical and hearty work, so much earnest preaching, so much instruction and consolation given, so much affectionate care for the poor and for the young. These are great and solid comforts, with enduring consequences, although they undoubtedly ought not to produce an indifference to present evils, and to the means of effecting their mitigation.

Mr. Gladstone concludes with expressing his fear lest the length of this letter should cause your Majesty to repent having drawn it forth by the freedom and kindness of the letter of the 20th.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23*rd Jan.* 1874.—My mind entirely taken up with to-day's great event,[1] and I felt it very trying to be absent! May God bless our child and make him happy! Had a telegram from Mr. Gladstone saying the Cabinet had agreed to the dissolution.

At 6 received the following telegram from the Emperor of Russia: "Nous nous empressons d'annoncer à votre Majesté que la double[2] cérémonie du mariage de nos chers enfants vient d'avoir lieu. Que la Bénédiction Divine veille sur eux; nous recommendons notre fille chérie à votre sollicitude maternelle." To which I answered: "C'est avec une vive émotion que je reçois en ce moment la nouvelle de l'accomplissement de la double cérémonie du mariage de nos chers enfants, et j'attends avec impatience le moment où je pourrai embrasser ma chère fille qui sera l'objet de ma plus vive sollicitude et de ma plus tendre affection." Read over the marriage service, thinking much of the young couple. At half past seven the ships, the guardship *Zealous*, and the *Royal Alfred* (sister ship) which had come over on purpose from Portsmouth, and the *Alberta*, all moored in Osborne Bay, lighted up and displayed fireworks. My two children, George,[1] Ernest Leiningen, Victor and Lolo Gleichen, the four ladies (including Emily Cathcart), the Biddulphs, Ponsonbys, and Captain Mildmay dined. At dessert George proposed the healths of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, followed by mine and those of the Emperor and Empress of Russia. I wore the Star and Ribbon of the Order of St. Catherine, and Beatrice wore her Victoria and Albert Order for the first time. Went into the drawing-room for a little while, and then went down to the servants' hall, which was very prettily decorated with wreaths and flags, where a servants' ball took place. We remained through ten dances, Beatrice dancing the first country dance with George. Little Feo, who came with us, looked very pretty. Did not get back to my room till half past one.

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[1] The marriage, at St. Petersburg, of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia.

[2] The marriage was celebrated both according to the rites of the Orthodox Church and according to those of the Church of England.

Received telegrams from Bertie, Vicky, and Lord Sydney, saying all had gone off extremely well and the two marriages had been very impressive. Heard also that the banquet for 800 people was over, which was followed by a ball, all most magnificent. After this the young couple were going to leave. Thought so much of them. May they be happy and keep their happiness longer than I did mine!

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Walmer Castle, *25th Jan.* 1874.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is much obliged to your Majesty for consenting to write to the Emperor of Germany, on the subject of peace.

It is not only the great press of business during the last few days which has prevented Lord Granville from writing a draft, but a real difficulty in suggesting both substance and form, with both of which your

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[1] The Duke of Cambridge.

Majesty's knowledge of the Emperor, and your Majesty's remarkable tact, and power of what the French call *tour*, would enable your Majesty to deal with so much better.

He has therefore only put down a few heads for your Majesty's consideration. Your Majesty will know how much is too commonplace, how much too didactic, and how much is likely to defeat instead of effecting the end proposed.

There is one point of consideration, which your Majesty would know more about, than Lord Granville does. No one would suspect your Majesty of Gallican tendencies, but is it possible that Prince Bismarck might think your Majesty was acting under inspiration from the Empress, and in direct hostility to him, who unfortunately at present is all-powerful ?

The Rev. J. N. Dalton[1] *to Queen Victoria.*

SANDRINGHAM, 31*st Jan.* 1874.—Mr. Dalton presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to report, in accordance with your Majesty's command received this morning through Mademoiselle Norèle, that Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales are both in the enjoyment of the most thorough good health and spirits, and also daily prosecute their studies with due diligence and attention. Their Royal Highnesses live a very regular and quiet life in the country here, and keep early hours both as to rising in the morning and retiring to rest at night, as the Prince and Princess of Wales desired before starting for Russia.[2] The two little Princes ride on ponies for an hour each alternate morning in the week, and take a walk the other three days, in the afternoon also their Royal Highnesses take exercise on foot. As regards the studies, the writing, reading, and arithmetic are all progressing favourably ; the music, spelling, English history,

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[1] Tutor to the Prince of Wales's son, now Canon of Windsor.

[2] To attend the wedding in St. Petersburg of the Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess Marie.

Latin, geography, and French all occupy a due share of their Royal Highnesses' attention, and the progress in English history and geography is very marked. Mr. Dalton hopes that, when your Majesty sees the two Princes, your Majesty will be pleased with their appearance, behaviour, and progress.

Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.

[*Translation.*] OSBORNE, 10*th February* 1874.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I have for some time wished to write to you, as there are several points about which I feel alarmed, but I was unwilling to trouble you whilst your indisposition had not disappeared; and even now I shall have to rely to a great extent on your indulgence.

What I wish to mention refers to reports received at the same time from Germany and France, that there were on both sides parties inclined to bring on a new war. Without attaching undue importance to such rumours, yet, with all who have the maintenance of the peace of the world at heart, I feel alarmed, considering that such discussions but too easily bring on the very danger which we are anxious to avert.

I am fully convinced that there is no one who longs more to maintain peace than you yourself, as you have realised from your own experience the horrors of war, although it was during a series of unparalleled triumphs.

You are aware of my friendship towards yourself personally, and of my attachment to Germany, and you know equally well, how I rejoice that at length the unification of Germany has been accomplished; so I need not fear to be misunderstood by you, if I venture to address these lines to you in the interest of Germany no less than of Europe.

I observe with sincere joy how in this country respect and regard for Germany is gradually, but steadily, on the increase, and how people begin more and more to see how important it is that the two nations, who have so much in common, should entertain the most friendly relations between each other.

Notwithstanding an active and restless Catholic minority, the English nation, as a whole, is essentially *Protestant*, and its sympathies would be entirely with Germany in any difference with France, unless there was an appearance of a disposition on the part of Germany to avail herself of her greatly superior force to crush and annihilate a beaten foe, and thus to engender the belief that a strong and united Germany was not, after all, the expected mainstay of European peace.

I need hardly say that for myself I do not share such apprehensions, but if Germany, through *incessant* provocations of a fanatical *Press* and *priesthood* in France (where, however, the Government do all in their power to keep both under control), were at last to resort to renewed war with France, this might lead to lamentable consequences, although there is nobody in doubt as to the issue, in a military sense, of such a struggle.

Being sensible that the fate of Europe rests in your hands, after such unparalleled successes, I venture to express my hope that you have the power and—no doubt—also the will to be *magnanimous*.

For a considerable time to come European peace is guaranteed by the exhaustion of France; and as to noisy cries, threats, and abuse, it is as well to make some allowance for French temperament. After Waterloo exactly the same wild cry for revenge was heard, and yet for how many years Peace remained undisturbed!

I am fully convinced that *generosity* will, in a political sense, bring the richest reward to Germany, as it will allay the irritation in the boundary provinces, and destroy all cause for jealousy amongst her neighbours, whilst Germany, by such moderation, is sure to raise herself still more in the respect of the whole world.—VICTORIA R.

Queen Victoria to Mr. W. E. Forster.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 11*th Feb.* 1874.— . . . The Queen will hope to see Mr. Forster before he leaves her service, as one of her Ministers, but she may not have time for any conversation. She therefore writes to say a few words. Mr. Forster kindly says he hopes to be still able to be of use to the Queen, and so he can. But she most earnestly hopes, that, when out of office, he will remember *one thing* which she thinks is so often forgotten, viz. to be very cautious *not* to *pledge* himself *strongly* to *any particular* cause, and to any particular measures, for they invariably hamper a statesman who takes office and often lead to very *serious* difficulties. This was the case to a great extent with Mr. Gladstone, and far more so with Mr. Bright. No one can be more *truly* liberal at heart than the Queen is, but she also thinks, that the great *principles* of the *Constitution* of this *great country* ought to be maintained and preserved, and that too many alterations and changes (and there have been so many) should be avoided. . . .[1]

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.*

Private.

Osborne, 13*th Feb.* 1874.—The Queen has only heard once from Mr. Gladstone since the commencement of the election, and that was on Monday last. Since then the majority against the Government has continued to increase and the Queen thinks that there is a general feeling that the resignation, which is quite inevitable, should take place as soon as they are over. The Queen must say that she herself is decidedly of this opinion. Indeed she could not

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[1] In reply Mr. Forster wrote: "The danger to which the Queen alludes is a real one, and he feels he can only hope to avoid it by keeping always before him the responsibility of *all* political action, and by making up his mind not to talk *for* anything out of office, which he does not think ought to be *done*, and which he would not feel he ought to try to do, if in office."

physically go through the *work* and *fatigue* necessitated by a change of Government at the *same time* as the arrival of the young couple takes place; not to speak of the confusion and unseemly effect of a totally unsettled Court at a *moment* when the Queen and country are anxious to do honour to the *Emperor of Russia's only daughter* who the *Queen's son brings back* to this *country as his wife!* . . .

For the sake of the public service too the Queen thinks a delay of *three weeks* would be most detrimental. The Queen has mentioned this also to Mr. Forster, and she trusts that Mr. Gladstone's colleagues will urge him to pursue this course.

Lord Granville she knows will not misunderstand her motives in writing this to him.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 13*th Feb.* 1874.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has only to report to your Majesty at this moment that the adverse verdict of the country has within the last few days become more and more emphatic.

In his last letter, Mr. Gladstone did not scruple to state the bias of his mind with respect to the question whether the expiring Government should await its sentence from the Parliament by meeting it while in the possession of office. He has no doubt whatever that this course is the one most agreeable to usage, and to the rules of Parliamentary Government; and that any departure from it can only be justified upon grounds in their nature exceptional. He is not, however, clear in the conviction that this case also may [not] prove, like that of 1868, to be one which should be treated by way of exception: partly because prevalent opinion, as well as abstract ideas, may in such cases be properly taken into view; partly because it should be considered what is fair to an incoming Administration, with reference to the arrangement of the business, especially the financial business, of the year.

On Tuesday, as Mr. Gladstone understands, your Majesty comes to Windsor; and on that day likewise the results of the latest elections will be known. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 14*th* *Feb.* 1874.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.

As she understands Mr. Gladstone will meet his colleagues on Monday, she would be ready to see Mr. Gladstone on Tuesday at half past five or six at Windsor.

She thinks that, whatever advantage there may be in adhering to usage and precedent, it is counterbalanced by the disadvantage of nearly three weeks' delay for the country and the public service.

But there is one other great consideration which Mr. Gladstone does not seem to have remembered, viz. the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, bringing with it *fêtes*, etc., just when Parliament meets, which would make it *physically impossible* for the Queen (who has not been strong or well at all lately, and is greatly overworked and fagged) to go through all the necessary fatigue accompanying a change of Government, which, had it not been for the dissolution, would not have taken place at this moment. People are apt, as she told Mr. Gladstone the other day, to forget that the Queen is a *woman*, who has far more on her hands, and far more to try mind and body, than is good *for any one* of her sex and age. . . .

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

Dictated to Beatrice.

Windsor Castle, 17*th* *Feb.* 1874.—I saw Mr. Gladstone at quarter to three to-day. I began by saying what extraordinary things had occurred since I had seen him, and how very unexpected the result of the elections was. He then went on to say that he had come to the decision with his colleagues to tender their resignation to me at once; that it had been rather a difficult question to decide, because it would not do, he thought, to make this a rule, viz. that Ministers should resign without an adverse vote in Parliament; because it might be a means for a Government, who had committed some grievous fault, to escape condemnation by Parliament, as the adverse party was seldom inclined to attack a fallen Government. But under the present circumstances, considering that they had chosen, with my sanction, to dissolve Parliament at this time, they thought it better for the country not to prolong the state of uncertainty for some weeks, as well as thereby saving me a good deal of inconvenience, and lastly that it would not be fair to the new administration, who would have to consider various questions, which were obliged to be settled. He then explained how, even if Parliament had met, he did not think it would have interfered with the arrival of Alfred and Marie, as the debate would only have come on on the 10th, and would probably have gone on till the 14th.

We then talked of the causes of the great defeat of the Government in the elections, which he attributed in great part to the enmity of the publican interest, as well as to the divisions of their own party on account of the education question. But, besides that, there was no doubt a great wish to get rid of the present Government. I could, of course, not tell him that it was greatly owing to his own unpopularity, and to the want of confidence people had in him. He said that he thought it was the greatest expression of public disapprobation of a Government that he ever remembered, though he did not think it was quite just. He then asked whether I would approve of the various honours for people connected with the Government, which he had submitted to me this morning. I said my only objection to them was their great number, which he, however, said he thought, when taken altogether, would not prove to be so. After agreeing to approve them and discussing the individual claims, I asked him what I could do for *him* ? to which he replied "Oh ! nothing," as he had stated before to me (last year); and while he was very grateful for my kindness, he felt that, supposing he wished ever so much for any honour, he could not accept any in the face of such condemnation from the country ; which I observed was very disinterested on his part.

I then adverted to a thing which I thought of importance, viz. that he should in no way, when out of office, hamper himself by any declarations as to measures of policy. To this he did not give any reply beyond that it was his wish to retire altogether, as he felt that wrangling discussions in the House of Commons, after the position he had held, was not a fit thing for people in old age. I answered that this was all very well, but that for a person in his position to decide this beforehand was almost impossible. Sir Robert Peel had said the same, but, if he had lived, he could not have carried it out. The Duke of Argyll, Mr. Gladstone said, also wished to get out of it altogether as he is not well, and Lord Granville is very tired. Mr. Gladstone felt his own health would be the better for rest as his sleep got disturbed. I said, I felt that much when occupied with anything of importance or interest, and he expressed the wish that I might long be preserved. We spoke of Affie's marriage, etc., etc., then he took leave of me, asking again whether he was to consider that I had accepted their resignations, to which I answered in the affirmative, but he was to come again and take leave.—V. R.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

18 Carlton H. Terrace, 17*th Feb.* 1874.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He saw Mr. Gladstone after his return, and found him quite "under the charm."

Mr. Gladstone subsequently recorded, in a Minute circulated to the Cabinet, his sense of your Majesty's graciousness, frankness, and kindness to him.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Place, 17*th Feb.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He will obey your Majesty's gracious commands, and will attend at Windsor to-morrow at half past 12 o'clock, and, after learning your Majesty's views and wishes, will place before your Majesty, for your Majesty's consideration, his views for carrying on your Majesty's Government to your Majesty's satisfaction.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

Windsor Castle, 18*th Feb.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli came at half past 12. He expressed great surprise at the result of the elections. He had thought there might have been a very small majority for them—but nothing like this had been anticipated, and no party organisation could have caused *this* result of a majority of nearly 64 ! ! Not since the time of Pitt and Fox had there been anything like it. Even in '41 when such a large majority was returned for Sir R. Peel, it had not been so extraordinary, because he had had a small majority. It justified, he said, the course he had pursued last March in declining to take office.

I then asked him who he meant to propose for the new Cabinet, and he entered into it at once. He proposed having only twelve in the Cabinet, six in each House, and he then enumerated them :

Lord Cairns	*Lord Chancellor.*
The Duke of Richmond . .	*Lord President* (with the lead of the House of Lords).
Lord Derby	*Foreign Affairs.*
Lord Salisbury (who had quite readily consented to join the Government)	*India.*

Lord Carnarvon	*Colonies.*
Lord Malmesbury (he did not mention this, but wrote it down afterwards)	*Lord Privy Seal.*
Mr. Disraeli	*First Lord of the Treasury.*
Sir S. Northcote (an excellent, safe, able man)	*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
Mr. Hardy (very able and popular and very straightforward) . .	*War Office.*
Mr. Hunt	*Admiralty.*
Mr. Cross (Member for South Lancashire—an able man, much respected)	*Home Office.*
Lord John Manners . . .	*Postmaster-General.*

Sir J. Pakington "Providence had disposed of," as he amusingly said (he has not been elected). Lord Henry Lennox for the Board of Works. He was anxious to bring as much new talent and blood into the Government as possible. Then the Household was talked of, and this seemed less easy. I was obliged to put a positive veto on the Duke of Beaufort.[1] . . .

Other names were mentioned and I was to consider them; and a list was left with me with names of Peers to be Lords-in-Waiting. He repeatedly said *whatever I wished* SHOULD *be done*, whatever his difficulties might be. . . .

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

Windsor Castle, 20*th Feb.* 1874.—I saw *Mr. Disraeli* at quarter to three to-day. He reported good progress. . . .

He proposed the Duke of Marlborough for the post of Lord-Lieutenant, and thought the Duchess and their daughters would do well there. I approved this. Then he recommended a Sir Michael Beach,[2] whom he praised highly, and said was a rising man, as Secretary for Ireland. Then for the Board of

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[1] The 8th Duke.

[2] Who held subsequently many Cabinet offices, notably that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was raised to the peerage eventually as Viscount, afterwards Earl, St. Aldwyn.

Education he recommended very highly a Mr. Smith of Westminster,[1] a rich and most respectable, clever man, who always maintained that the working classes were *not* republican.

To these I assented. He then turned to the Household.[2] . . . To good old Sir J. Pakington[3] and Colonel Wilson Patten[4] he begged that Peerages might be given as they had to be left out, and were both very well off. Parliament could *not be* really opened till the 20th.

He knelt down and kissed hands, saying: "I plight my troth to the kindest of *Mistresses*"!

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20*th Feb.* 1874.—Mr. Gladstone came at 6, and delivered up his Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He was very grave, and little disposed to talk; expressed satisfaction at matters being so forward. We talked a little of Lord Salisbury and his great talents and uprightness, but peculiarities. Then talked of other things, Russia, the marriage, and *fêtes*, etc., and then of Parliament meeting, and finally, when I asked if he was going out of town, he said not probably before Easter, but after that he should remain out of town. I observed on its being important he should take care of his health for any contingency; and he said he might be ready to come forward for a particular call, but that at his age, and after the position he had held, he thought himself entitled to rest, and that he did not feel inclined to take part in the ordinary discussions in Parliament.

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[1] Mr. W. H. Smith, Leader of the House of Commons, 1887–1891, when he died.

[2] The Queen refused on this occasion to admit advanced High Churchmen into that personal service to herself which the Household involved unless they undertook not to take a prominent part in Church politics. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 8.

[3] Lord Hampton.

[4] Lord Winmarleigh

Who, then, would lead? I asked. He replied, he thought no one, for that the Liberal party must learn how through their divisions and "self-seeking" they had brought the present disruption about. The greatest intelligence, upon the whole, he believed, was to be found in the Liberal party, but there were no doubt also a great number of "self-seekers" who would not listen to any leader, and there was a far greater "cohesion" in the Conservative party than in the Liberal one. This rendered all government most difficult, and since the passing of the great Irish measures, they had run completely riot. I observed that, in Lord Palmerston's time even, they had been often very unmanageable; but he replied, far less, and that there had been an understanding that while [Palmerston] lived there was to be "a truce." This state of things was, however, a serious evil.

I then took leave, gave him my hand, which he kissed, and expressed every wish for his health.—V. R.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, *23rd Feb.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli . . . will avail himself of your Majesty's gracious permission, and attend your Majesty to-morrow at half past 12 o'clock, when he, probably, will be able to submit to your Majesty a complete programme of your Servants, in all departments.

It is by no means a week since your Majesty first graciously summoned him to the presence: he trusts, therefore, that your Majesty will indulgently consider his conduct, if there be, sometimes, apparently a perplexing delay.

But he would pray your Majesty to permit him to observe, that in forming an administration, it is necessary to make some offers, which you are almost certain will not be accepted. Powerful personages are conciliated by the offers of great posts, and might be estranged were they not made, even though it may be impossible that they should be accepted.

Mr. Gladstone's Ministry in February 1874.		Mr. Disraeli's Ministry.
W. E. Gladstone	*First Lord of the Treasury*	B. Disraeli.
Lord Selborne	*Lord Chancellor*	Lord Cairns.
Lord Aberdare	*Lord President*	Duke of Richmond.
Viscount Halifax	*Lord Privy Seal*	Earl of Malmesbury.
Robert Lowe	*Home Secretary*	Richard A. Cross.
Earl Granville	*Foreign Secretary*	Earl of Derby.
Earl of Kimberley	*Colonial Secretary*	Earl of Carnarvon.
Edward Cardwell	*War Secretary*	Gathorne Hardy.
Duke of Argyll	*Indian Secretary*	Marquis of Salisbury.
W. E. Gladstone	*Chancellor of the Exchequer*	Sir Stafford Northcote.
G. J. Goschen	*First Lord of the Admiralty*	G. Ward Hunt.
Chichester S. Fortescue	*President of the Board of Trade*	(Not in the Cabinet.)
J. Stansfeld	*President of the Local Government Board*	(Not in the Cabinet.)
(Not in the Cabinet)	*Postmaster-General*	Lord John Manners.
John Bright	*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*	(Not in the Cabinet.)
W. E. Forster	*Vice-President of Council on Education*	(Not in the Cabinet.)
Marquis of Hartington	*Chief Secretary for Ireland*	(Not in the Cabinet.)

Mr. Chichester Fortescue to General Ponsonby.

7 Carlton Gardens, 24*th February* 1874. (9.30.)

My dear Ponsonby,—I have just received your letter.

I should be deeply distressed if I had unwittingly failed in my duty to her Majesty, in the matter of my title. I had, however, no idea that I was entitled to make a direct application to the Queen on the subject. On the same day, I think, on which I heard from Mr. Gladstone that her Majesty had been pleased to confer the peerage upon me, I had a letter from Lord Granville asking what title I wished to apply for, I answered, Carlingford. Since then a question has been raised which led me to consult Sir Bernard Burke, whose answer I enclose. I hope I am not wrong in now doing what I did not doubt had been done for me; I would beg, through you, her Majesty's sanction to my taking the title of Carlingford. Very truly yours, C. S. FORTESCUE.[1]

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BERLIN, 26*th February* 1874.

MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . The serious questions to which you allude in your letter afford me an opportunity which I have long desired of writing to you about them. You only do me justice when you say that you are fully convinced of my love of peace. Since I came to the throne, I have been forced to undertake three bloody wars, of which that of 1864 alone was long foreseen; I therefore merely inherited this war. The other two were forced upon me in an unpardonable manner by my enemies. I have to thank Providence for victory in all three instances, but no one has ever perceived in me any manifestation of the intoxication of victory; but, on the contrary, a deep sorrow for those evils which war ever brings and leaves in its track, as you yourself have acknowledged.

Having said so much about the past, I cannot help the more deploring that a desire for another war is constantly imputed to me, and although you yourself do not believe in these imputations, yet you beg me to avoid everything which might disturb the peace of the world. I expect, dear Sister, that with your sense of justice you will see that this desire for war does not arise with us in Germany, but is instigated by that cry for "revenge" which is continually being shouted at us by France! I freely admit that the cry for revenge was heard no less after 1815, and yet during nearly fifty years Peace was not disturbed; but *then* a *Government had been re-established in France which was the result of our victories*, and which *could not therefore join in this cry, or yield to it*. Now it is quite otherwise! The possessors of power in France are themselves the vanquished, they are now at the head of a nation which *will* have *revanche*, and therefore these rulers are driven by public opinion, by the Press, and by other motives, to allow this cry to have its course, *more perhaps than they themselves would wish.* That the clerical party in France do not share in this latter feeling is as clear as day, and yet the Legitimists as well as the Orleanists agree in this view, because they think to reach the throne by fostering the cry for revenge. No one can deny that the excesses of the Press, stimulated by the Bishops and the clerical party, in openly encouraging the resistance of Alsace and Lorraine, have been sufficient to exhaust the patience of Germany. My Government could not overlook these manifestations, and the language which they held to the rulers of France arose from feelings of honour and self-respect. For we cannot allow France again to grow stronger than we are, seeing that we have for centuries suffered and bled under her yoke. It is true I do not believe that the danger of France attempting revenge is near at hand, but *in the interests of peace* we must not allow her to excite herself until the time arrives when it will be convenient for her to take up arms, and therefore the only object our diplomatists had in view in addressing the French and even the Belgian Governments was, *in the interest of peace*, to point out that this daily expression of these feelings of revenge must compromise the prospects of peace. This calling attention to the fact that France would *herself* bring on war in this way, has during the last few weeks produced a wholesome feeling of apprehension in France, but the tables have now been turned on us, and we are accused of wishing for war, whilst naturally *defensive measures* on the side of Germany could *not remain unknown*, and for any such defence we will be prepared.

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[1] This is endorsed: "The Queen approves, Feb. 25th '74.—H. P."

But for what end should we undertake an aggressive war? No sensible German desires to make conquests. I can refer to the *public declarations* of peace which were heard at the three successive Imperial meetings, and I can assure you that these declarations were no empty phrases. May the wish of the Emperor Alexander be fulfilled which he lately expressed, that your policy may be the fourth link to this bond of love of peace of the Emperors! I, equally with you, rejoice to perceive the growing sympathy of England for Germany; it is a most fortunate circumstance, as both nations are naturally allied to each other by the principles of Protestantism. You assure me that nothing but the outbreak of a war undertaken by Germany, with a view to utterly destroying France, will estrange those sympathies from us. What I have now written must convince you that such an eventuality is beyond the bounds of probability. You argue, moreover, that I might be generous, as the rulers of France would do all in their power to restrain the wild restlessness of the country, for they themselves feel what great dangers may arise from the action of the priests and the Press. It is the same in Germany, but here as in France the power of resisting this aggressive action is very limited. The contest, however, in which we are engaged with Catholicism,[1] gives France the opportunity of letting loose and encouraging all those feelings of hatred against Germany which are instilled into the rising generation, and of combating Protestantism, just as the priests of Germany are doing. Unfortunately we do not perceive that this movement is opposed in France with as much vigour as you seem to think, for in the background there always remains *that feeling of revenge*—which explains why we miss vigorous action on the part of the Government. My Government does not attack the Catholic Church, as all our old and new laws will bear witness. Our contest has merely for its object to render the priesthood subject to the laws of the land, for otherwise a State within a State would be formed, which no civilised Power can, or dare, permit.

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[1] See Introductory Notes to this and the preceding two chapters.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to show magnanimity—however much I might wish to do so. Pardon me for having written at such length, but the subjects in question are too weighty to be briefly treated. With the truest affection, your devoted Brother, WILHELM.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th March* 1874.—Could hardly believe the long expected day had come. All bustle and excitement. Bells ringing, troops arriving, bands playing, etc. At half past 11 we started for the South-Western Station, all the gentlemen in full dress. I had my jacket trimmed with miniver, my cloak the same, and lined with ermine. Bertie and Alix drove with me as well as Louise, who with Lorne had arrived just before. Beatrice, Leopold, George C., Lorne, Bertie's two boys, Bessie Wellington, Jane C., Lady Macclesfield, and Lord Bradford, followed in the other carriages. I had an escort. The town, which was lined with troops, was very full and completely decked out with flags, flowers, festoons, and inscriptions, some of which were in Russian. There was a very pretty triumphal arch. Lenchen and Christian met us at the station. The train drew up, Affie and Arthur stepped out, and then dear Marie, whom I took in my arms and kissed warmly several times. I was quite nervous and trembling, so long had I been in expectation. Marie, who is very like her photographs, wore a light blue dress with a long train and a white tulle bonnet with white roses and white heather, which I had purposely sent to Antwerp in the yacht. I presented all the family, whom she embraced, and then named the ladies, after which we got at once into the carriage, I driving with the young couple. Affie was of course in naval uniform. There was great enthusiasm and cheering in the town, which looked very gay, with the old Castle overtowering all.

Took Marie and Affie to their rooms, where they gave me a beautiful brooch in enamel, sapphires, and diamonds with their cypher and date, as well as coat-of-arms. Dear Marie has a very friendly manner, a pleasant face, beautiful skin and fine bright eyes, and there is something very fresh and attractive about her. She speaks English wonderfully well.

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

Addington Park, 17*th March* 1874.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The Archbishop has now placed in Mr. Disraeli's hands the rough draft of a Bill to give effect to such a controlling power over the services of the Church as your Majesty mentioned in conversation with the Archbishop at Osborne.

The Archbishop ventures to suggest a hope that your Majesty may have an opportunity soon of urging on Mr. Disraeli your Majesty's views on this important matter.[1]

If all goes well, the Archbishop hopes to lay a Bill on the table of the House of Lords on the first day of the meeting of Parliament after Easter. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 17*th March* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty:

Mr. Hawkins,[2] who so ably represented your Majesty's Attorney-General in the great Tichborne case,[3] and thereby saved the country from a most serious interruption of the public business of the country, fulfilled this engrossing duty at a vast professional sacrifice.

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[1] In a letter dated 20th March, printed in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 9, the Queen urged Mr. Disraeli to give the Bill "the full support of the Government." She concluded: "Her *earnest* wish is that Mr. Disraeli should *go as far as he can without embarrassment* to the Government, in *satisfying* the *Protestant* feeling of the country in relation to this measure."

[2] Afterwards the well-known judge, Sir Henry Hawkins, raised to the peerage as Lord Brampton in 1899.

[3] There was prolonged litigation and subsequent prosecution, arising out of the claim of an impostor, Arthur Orton, to be Sir Roger Tichborne. Orton was eventually sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude.

The enclosed copy of the answer of the Lord Chancellor to Mr. Hawkins's desire for some public recognition of his services, indicates the grounds on which Mr. Disraeli respectfully recommends your Majesty to confer on Mr. Hawkins the honour of Knighthood.

General Ponsonby to Mr. Disraeli.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th March* 1874.

DEAR MR. DISRAELI,—I am commanded by the Queen to assure you that her Majesty has carefully considered your recommendation that the honour of Knighthood should be conferred on Mr. Hawkins.

Her Majesty fully recognises the value of the important services he has rendered in the Tichborne case, and regrets to learn that he has been a loser in a pecuniary sense in consequence of having conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown.

But it would not seem desirable that this should be made good to him by a Knighthood.

The Queen especially feels that she was represented on this trial—as in all others—by the presiding judges, and that her attitude should be one of the strictest impartiality. It is true that now the trial is over there would be no real departure from this position, but, though it might not be so in reality, it would be so in appearance. If the Prosecutor's Counsel were rewarded with honour it will seem by implication that the Queen's feelings have been biased against the prisoner throughout, and that she regards the termination as a victory. This her Majesty thinks would have a very bad effect. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Thursday, 19*th March* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The House of Commons met for public business at four o'clock.

The mover of the Address, Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, being an old member again returned, and with a position, deviated from the usual rule, and, defying a wise routine, made a clever, but a too party speech.

Mr. Gladstone took notice of this, and justly, but treated the matter with candour, and in a very conciliatory spirit. He impressed upon his friends that the country had decided against them, and that it was wise they should recognise they were thoroughly beaten.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd March* 1874.—After luncheon saw Sir G. Wolseley.[1] He looks thin and grey, but well, and is a very smart, active, wiry-looking man, full of energy, and calm and decided-looking. He said he had recovered his health, but that the climate was awful, like a perpetual steam bath. That Coomassie was most unhealthy, as the dead the natives sacrificed were unburied. One of our officers had slept (without knowing it) in the executioner's house, and on asking whether there were many executions, was told by the executioner that there were only two days in the week when they did not kill anyone! There were generally 1,000 killed during the year as a sort of what they call fetish. Sir Garnet never saw King Coffi, and had waited for him in vain. His mother, the Queen, is very clever and has great influence over him. She was very unhappy about the war and cried a good deal. Sir Garnet had wanted to take her as a hostage, but the King would not give her up. The succession is very peculiar, not going from father to son, but always through a female! The bush is very dense, thick prickly grass and enormously high cotton trees. The conduct of the 42nd had been quite splendid. They took their Pipers into action, who put themselves in the forefront. The Ashantis fought well, but their ammunition and powder were bad. The Fantis were dreadful cowards, but not the women. The Houssas were very brave, so were the Cossoes, who are in fact cannibals and go into action with swords in their mouths.

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[1] Just back from his successful Ashanti Expedition; afterwards F.-M. Viscount Wolseley.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 24*th March* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty entreats your Majesty not to conclude from his silence on the all-important subject[1] on which your Majesty had graciously addressed him, that he is neglecting your Majesty's wishes.

The question is, by far, the most difficult one that has ever been placed before him, and a false step, in regard to it, might occasion your Majesty great disappointment and anxiety.

Mr. Disraeli entirely sympathises with your Majesty in the object your Majesty has in view, but the means by which that object is to be accomplished demand the calmest and deepest consideration.

His object is, if possible, to bring his colleagues to some concurrent action in the matter.

Mr. Disraeli is to see the Archbishop on Thursday next.

28*th March*.— . . . The Cabinet considered the question raised by the Archbishop. Mr. Disraeli read to them a paper, prepared by his Grace, and dated only yesterday.

The Cabinet did not favour the Archbishop's plan, which, they believed, would be disastrous to the Church: but there was almost unanimity of opinion that it was desirable that the purpose of the Archbishop should be assisted. The advantage of having conferred with some leading Members of the Ministry, before the matter was brought before them collectively, was shown by Lord Salisbury treating the subject with as much moderation as ability. . . .

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[1] The curbing of Ritualism.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 17*th April* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The case of Dr. Hayman[1] excites considerable interest in the public mind. Mr. Disraeli does not know him, and is not prejudiced in his favour, but there is a feeling prevalent, and not confined to a particular party, that an eminent scholar, and not a bad man, though perhaps an injudicious one, has not met with fair play.

On this head, Mr. Disraeli would refer your Majesty to the opinion of one who is neither a High, nor a Low Churchman, nor perhaps even a Broad one, but a man with the most unprejudiced mind, and of a singular clear judgment—your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Disraeli has held, however, no communication with Lord Derby on this subject, nor has he spoken to anyone. He wishes to have your Majesty's advice on the matter.

It may be unconstitutional for a Minister to seek advice from his Sovereign, instead of proffering it;

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[1] Dr. Hayman was appointed Headmaster of Rugby School in November 1869, when Dr. Temple resigned on accepting the Bishopric of Exeter. Dr. Temple and the assistant masters were opposed to the appointment, as they feared that the Liberal traditions of Rugby might suffer at the hands of a Conservative; and the relations between the assistant masters and their new chief never became cordial or satisfactory. He dismissed the most hostile of them, but was himself dismissed on 19th December 1873 by a newly appointed Governing Body, of whom Dr. Temple and Dr. Bradley (a former assistant master, but then Headmaster of Marlborough, and eventually Dean of Westminster) were leading members. He brought an action against the Governing Body for wrongful dismissal. Vice-Chancellor Malins, in deciding against him, expressed himself strongly on the injustice with which he considered Dr. Hayman had been treated.

but your Majesty has, sometimes, deigned to assist Mr. Disraeli with your counsel, and he believes he may presume to say, with respectful candour, that your Majesty cannot but be aware how highly Mr. Disraeli appreciates your Majesty's judgment and almost unrivalled experience of public life.

There is a good Crown living,[1] of more than a £1,000 per annum, now vacant, and, if your Majesty approves, Mr. Disraeli is prepared to advise your Majesty to confer it on this unfortunate gentleman, who next week will have to leave Rugby, with nine children, absolutely homeless and shelterless.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 21*st April* 1874.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Disraeli's letter with Lord Derby's, which she returns.

She has given the subject due consideration and thinks that Dr. Hayman should have the living Mr. Disraeli proposes. But it should be *given* in *such a manner* as *not* to imply any *condemnation* of those who removed him from his office (for which he was totally unfit) or were instrumental in doing so. There is, the Queen understands, a general wish among those very persons, that something should be given him. But their course was an unavoidable one, and the Queen believes that it was *not* a party act, and that those who had to remove Dr. Hayman would be relieved by his having a living given to him.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23*rd April* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli, with his humble duty, thanks your Majesty for your gracious counsel in the Hayman case. He will follow it implicitly, and take measures that his motives should be known in advising your Majesty to confer this preferment. This shall be effectively done. He is very grateful to your Majesty for this assistance.

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[1] Aldingham, Lancashire.

He is deeply conscious of the great, unusual, and sustained strain there has been on your Majesty during the last three months. He has wished, as much as possible, to guard your Majesty from unnecessary exertion, so far as it was consistent with that thorough knowledge of what was going on, and due control over the public business, which he always wishes your Majesty to possess and exercise.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 22*nd April* 1874.—The Queen . . . has read with interest the debate in the House of Lords on the Archbishop's Bill,[1] and thinks that the opening of this grave subject was satisfactory.

It is a *great* thing to have *anything agreed* to in the *right* direction as a *beginning.*

The Queen herself agrees on the general tone of the proposals, but would wish to know if the question of the representation of the laity in the Bishops' Council has been fully considered.

She trusts that the measure will be carefully and dispassionately considered and discussed.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25*th April* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He troubles your Majesty with this line, in accordance with his promise to report the proceedings of the Cabinet to-day respecting the Archbishop's Bill.

They were not very favourable; but, contrasted with the feeling of the Cabinet at the beginning of the Session, not altogether unsatisfactory.

The second reading of the Bill is fixed for the 30th, and Lord Salisbury, and one or two others, thought the interval not sufficiently long to elicit the opinion of the clergy.

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[1] The Public Worship Regulation Bill.

Lord Derby spoke in favour of the Bill; said he observed no signs of discontent among the clergy respecting it, and thought it was generally popular in the country.

The more adverse sentiments in the Cabinet did not, for a moment, assume the shape of opposing the second reading, but rather of pressing for time, that the opinion of Convocation should be acquired.

Mr. Disraeli thanks your Majesty for your gracious words. It is a delight to serve your Majesty; and he is never happier than when he thinks he can, in the slightest degree, mitigate your Majesty's anxiety, or avert, from your Majesty, any unnecessary toil. He hopes the sweet stillness of Claremont has not been without charm; and that it has prepared the restoration that will be completed by the bonnie breezes of Balmoral.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th May* 1874.—On getting up, received a telegram from Affie saying that the Emperor of Russia's yacht had gone aground and could not be got off till the tide rose. He would land at Dover, but could not arrive till half past 7! What a *contretemps*! Everybody had to be put off till later, for he was to have arrived at half past 1! Drove in the afternoon with Louise and Beatrice in the Park, which is in such beauty, and it was so warm and lovely.

When we came in, Lord A. Paget met me, saying the Emperor could not be here till 9 or possibly 10! Alix arrived. We decided to take a little refreshment about half past 8. Then came a telegram saying they would not be here till 9.50. We began to dress, and at half past 9 went over to the State Rooms with Alix, Lenchen, Louise, Beatrice, and the two Duchesses. Alix had a very bad cold. Lord Hertford met us and we sat waiting in the Waterloo Gallery. The Grand Staircase looked beautiful with all the flowers and the Yeomen of the Guard lining it. The Great Officers of State as well as the Ladies and Gentlemen were all there, everyone *en gala*. Not till quarter past 10 did the news come that the train had arrived, and then there was further waiting, but we went below, so as not to have a scramble at the last. There were various false alarms, till at length at half past 10 the escort appeared and then the carriage. I stepped out to greet the Emperor, who was driving with Marie, Bertie, and Arthur. We embraced, and he gave me his arm. I presented my three daughters and then we walked upstairs, and went into the Rubens Room (the Emperor's drawing-room), where, soon after, Affie and the Grand Duke Alexis joined us. Then the Emperor presented his immense suite to me in the Waterloo Gallery. I wore my Russian Order.

We only sat down to dinner, in fact supper, at quarter to 11. The Emperor led me in, and I sat between him and the Grand Duke Alexis, who led in Alix. Marie sat next her father. They seem to be so happy to be together. The Emperor was very kind but is terribly altered, so thin, and his face looks so old, sad, and careworn. The Grand Duke Alexis is enormous, and has a very handsome face. Took coffee in the Gallery, and talked for a little while, then we went to our rooms at 12! The Emperor looked terribly tired, and I own I was also. It is just thirty-five years that I took leave of him here, at Windsor, in June!

14*th May*.—Began to dress for dinner a little after 7. My three daughters went over at half past 7 to receive the Order of St. Catherine from the Emperor, and after a short time I followed with Alix, Marie, the Princes, including George C., Edward S. Weimar, and Franz Teck, etc. I wore diamonds on my dress and my coronet of diamonds with my veil. All the Princesses were very smart, Beatrice in pink, Marie in her Drawing-room dress, with her beautiful sapphires. They all wore the Russian Order. We went into the Throne Room, where we found the Emperor in his fine red uniform of the Chevaliers Gardes, which his father had also worn. Then we went into the Reception Room, and straight through to dinner in St. George's Hall, the Emperor leading me in. Marie again sat next to her father. Everything was arranged like last time and in full state. The band of the Coldstreams played very well.

The Emperor talked a good deal of old times, recalling the circumstances of his former visit, remembering the rooms and the people, of whom so many are gone, or sadly changed. He recalled his father's visit, how he had liked it, and how attached he had been to England, but how after ten years "tout a malheureusement changé" and the war took place. "Vous avez été mal servi, mais celui n'est plus qui l'a fait," meaning Lord Palmerston, which no doubt is true, and I said there had certainly been misunderstandings, which I much regretted. "Il le savait," meaning his father; and I added that I had had a great affection for the Emperor. "Oh! il le savait," he again replied, and continued that he did not see any reason why our two countries should not be on the best terms, and that if he saw any difficulties, "si vous me le permettez, je vous écrirai directement," which I quite acquiesced in. Then he spoke with tears in his eyes, so as to be almost unable to speak, of Marie, saying: "Je vous remercie encore une fois pour toutes vos bontés pour ma fille; je vous la recommande: j'espère qu'elle s'en rendra toujours digne." And I put my hand out across the Emperor and took Marie's, she herself being nearly upset.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 18*th June* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

There was a Cabinet to-day; its main question being on the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that your Majesty should renew the "Letters of

Business" which were granted by your Majesty under the late Ministry to Convocation, to consider the Rubrics; and their labours on which were terminated by the dissolution of Parliament.

After a satisfactory discussion the Cabinet resolved unanimously to advise your Majesty to do so. It was difficult to refuse the renewal of a privilege so recently conferred, and terminated in a manner so peculiar.

It was agreed, however, that your Majesty should be advised to grant the renewal without any reference to pending legislation; and that, in my answer to the Archbishop, it should be regretted that His Grace had not requested the renewal at the earliest period: the opening of Parliament.

It is thought that this act will much soften the High Church party, and assist the progress of the Archbishop's Bill; and even Lord Derby, who affects to take no interest in what he calls "parsonic squabbles," and is not in favour of Bishops or Churches, or anything in that way—"subjects on which," he says, "we have no facts"—was decidedly in [favour of] advising your Majesty to grant the Letters. The clergy, in fact, are the persons most concerned in this legislation, and they are only represented by the Bishops, in whom they have no confidence. Or, as Lord Salisbury, the High Churchman, put it to-day, "the sheep are only represented by the wolves."

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

Lambeth Palace, *23rd June* 1874.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and desires to report to your Majesty the present state of matters respecting the Public Worship Bill.

There seems to be now no doubt that the Bill will finally pass the House of Lords on Thursday. As amended it is, the Archbishop believes, entirely satisfactory to the country. The majorities in the House of Lords have been, the Archbishop believes, with reference to the actual numbers, above 100 in one case and nearly 100 in the other, there having been only two important divisions.

The Archbishop is assured that the Bill will certainly pass the Commons, if the Prime Minister secures time for its discussion. At this period of the Session it is impossible for any Bill to pass, for which the Prime Minister does not make time.

The Prime Minister is in a difficult position respecting this Bill, with some of his own Cabinet. Mr. Hardy is supposed to be unfavourable, but, if the same tact which was so useful in the House of Lords, and which neutralised Lord Salisbury's opposition there, be shown, there will be little doubt of success. The Archbishop hopes that the Prime Minister feels how serious an evil it would be to prolong the present clerical agitation for another year, and how seriously the Ministry would suffer in public estimation if it allowed the Protestant feeling of the country to be suppressed by the loquacity of a faction.

The Archbishop begs leave to explain to your Majesty that the letters of business, which the Ministry is willing should be granted to Convocation, will naturally be the same as those granted by Mr. Gladstone's Government, and will authorise Convocation to continue the work interrupted by the dissolution of Parliament, viz. the consideration of amendments in the rubrics as proposed by the Ritual Commission.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 10*th July* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The storm that raged over the House of Commons last night was ominous of the confusion of the elements within. Mr. Gladstone reappeared and spoke immediately after the amendment, two hours before dinner, and in a crowded House.

In a rhetorical point of view he surpassed himself;

as a statesman, he threw off the mask, and the only logical conclusion of his address was the disestablishment of that Church of which your Majesty is the head.

The effect of his speech on the House was to alarm it, and later in the evening, when it had been digested, this was apparent in the temper of its members.

It was impossible to get a vote on the main question, but the division, on the first motion of adjournment, may be considered indicative of the feeling of the House towards the measure of the Archbishop. Mr. Disraeli voted against the adjournment, that is, for the Bill. But he had the mortification of being accompanied by only one of his Cabinet colleagues—Mr. Secretary Cross! The great mass of the party were, however, with him.

All this is awkward, and may be dangerous; but he is in good heart, and trusts and believes he shall keep things together. He has summoned a Cabinet for to-morrow at one o'clock, and will write after it.

Sir William Harcourt made a most powerful speech in the Protestant vein. He will mount to the highest, and will be the future leader of the party to which he has, somewhat unwillingly, attached himself. . . .

Mr. Disraeli ought to point out to your Majesty, that Mr. Gladstone has placed on the table resolutions: that is, in fact, a new Bill; and if he persists, as he probably will, with the same tenacity and furious ardour, which he did, some years ago, in opposition to Lord Palmerston's Divorce Bill, the Session, instead of closing on the 5th August, will reach September.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th July* 1874.—The Queen approves of the Rev. O. Forester[1] for the vacant Canonry of York, as Mr. Disraeli seems very anxious for it, and he is a good man. But for the *future* she would wish Mr. Disraeli to try and select, for Canons or high positions in the Church, people whose literary or other merits point them out for promotion, rather than merely from their birth. If *both* can be combined right and well, but if not it is very *important* that merit and true *liberal* broad views should be the recommendation.

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[1] The Rev. the Hon. Orlando Forester was a brother of Mr. Disraeli's friends, Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield. See *Life of Disraeli,* vol. v, ch. 7.

It is by such appointments alone that we can hope to strengthen the very tottering fabric of the Established Church. The extreme Evangelical school do the Established Church as much harm as the High Church.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 11*th July* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

A most critical Cabinet, but the end satisfactory.

Mr. Disraeli will make a statement at the meeting of the House on Monday, which he thinks will be encouraging to the Protestant sentiment of the House. The second reading of the Bill will be secured, and the foundation laid for further progress with it.

Lord Salisbury behaved well; he was left at last without a supporter. Mr. Disraeli said he was unwilling to act without the Cabinet was unanimous, when Lord Salisbury said, very unexpectedly, he would not contend against the unanimous opinion of his colleagues, that every facility should be given to the Archbishop's Bill, consistent with the general interests of the country.

12*th July*.— . . . He thanks your Majesty for your gracious words received this morning.[1] They encouraged him in a most difficult struggle.

Much, perhaps everything, depends upon his announcement[2] to-morrow, and the manner in which it is received by the House of Commons.

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[1] The Queen had written: "Mr. Disraeli must have managed his refractory Cabinet most skilfully."

[2] That, in the opinion of the Government, the Public Worship Bill should be passed, and passed during the current session.

He forgot to mention to your Majesty, that the Cabinet ended by leaving him a large discretion as to the manner, and, to no inconsiderable degree, the matter of that announcement.

If this blow is dealt against the Sacerdotal school, it will be entirely through the personal will of the Sovereign. The Lords were not well-disposed at first to the measure; the Cabinet has been always adverse to it; and the House of Commons hesitating and ambiguous.

Mr. Gladstone's speech brought affairs to a focus. It is a more trying and anxious business than even the Reform Act of 1867, because the movements are, necessarily, to a great degree, subterranean. Nevertheless, supported by your Majesty, Mr. Disraeli is in good heart.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

Windsor Castle, 13*th July* 1874.—Pray show that you are in earnest and determined to pass this Bill and not to be deterred by threats of delay.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons [13*th July* 1874] (*Monday, 5 o'clock*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has passed the Rubicon, ordered details to be immediately telegraphed to your Majesty.

Must be prepared for the secession of some colleagues; but the country is with your Majesty in this matter, and with your countenance and favour he will carry the matter through.

He duly received the telegraph in cypher.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

Colonial Office, 13*th July* 1874.—Lord Carnarvon submits, with his humble duty to your Majesty, the result of a long and careful consideration with his colleagues of the recent report of the Commissioners on Fiji, which Lord Carnarvon had the honour to submit to your Majesty some time since.

Your Majesty will have observed that in the appendix to that report certain conditions are specified; but in the opinion of Lord Carnarvon and his colleagues it would be very unwise to recommend to your Majesty the acceptance of the islands if subject to such conditions. There are amongst them some which are not open to serious objection; but there are others which would constitute an undertaking to maintain the hereditary rights of certain chiefs which would be wholly impracticable. . . .

On the other hand, looking to the opinion of New Zealand and Australia and, as far as it can be gathered, of Parliament and this country, and looking also to the advantages which these islands possess as an intermediate station between America and Australia, and the risks of great disorders arising unless some government is constituted, it seems impossible to give a direct refusal to the cession, provided that the conditions of it are not open to objection. And though there will be expense and difficulties during the early years of administration, these cannot be said to be insuperable obstacles.

Lord Carnarvon therefore, on the part of his colleagues and himself, submits to your Majesty the propriety of accepting the cession of the islands, if it is not fettered by inconvenient conditions.

In these circumstances Lord Carnarvon proposes to direct Sir H[ercules] Robinson [1] to proceed from Sydney to Fiji, and having assembled the chiefs and people and other parties interested, to make them understand that only a wholly unconditional cession can be accepted. Sir H. Robinson will consult with the two Commissioners who are on the spot, but it is most desirable, in Lord Carnarvon's opinion, that the final stage of this difficult question should be entrusted to him. Lord Carnarvon proposes to warn Sir H. Robinson confidentially beforehand of the duties which will be devolved upon him. . . .

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[1] Then Governor of New South Wales, afterwards well known as Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa. Created Lord Rosmead in 1896, and died in 1897.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th July* 1874.

DEAR LORD CARNARVON,—The Queen has carefully read your letter of the 13th instant, which reached her late last night. Her Majesty feels confident that you have fully considered this question. It would have been impossible to have accepted the cession of these islands hampered by the conditions made, while it seems difficult to refuse the cession if unconditional.

Her Majesty therefore commands me to convey to you her approval of the plan you propose of sending Sir Hercules Robinson there to ascertain the wishes of the chiefs, and should they be willing to cede Fiji unconditionally, her Majesty will be ready to accept their islands. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 15*th July* 1874.—The Queen greatly rejoices to hear of the second reading of the Church Regulation Bill having been carried without a division, and of Mr. Disraeli's declaration. It is owing to his firmness that this took place, and she has every hope that the Bill will pass this Session. It is of vital importance it should do so, as else the agitation and violence would be terrible.

What "*secessions*"[1] did Mr. Disraeli allude to in his letter of Monday night?

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

18 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 16*th July* 1874.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

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[1] None occurred.

He feels honoured by any communication from your Majesty. He will consider the present one as strictly confidential.

He had anticipated your Majesty's wishes. He did all he could to persuade Mr. Gladstone to avail himself of his sad excuse[1] to continue absent from the House of Commons during the discussion of the Church Bills (particularly if he did not come up for the Home Rule debate). He failed, and was equally impotent in preventing the announcement of the resolutions. Since then he has done his best to induce Mr. Gladstone to abandon them. Mr. Gladstone is not as decided as he was upon this point, and he may possibly give them up, if he sees some amendment upon which he can vote in Committee.

Lord Granville has not mentioned your Majesty's name to Mr. Gladstone. The latter meets all arguments by saying that this is not a party question, that it has not even been considered so by the Members of Government, that it is a subject on which he has strong personal feelings, and which has been the study of his life. . . .

2 *p.m.* P.S.—Lord Granville has renewed hope that his anticipations will be realised.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 17*th July* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He would call your Majesty's attention to the subject of honours to be conferred on the civic authorities of London, for their entertainments of the Emperor of Russia, and of the Duke of Edinburgh and his Royal and Imperial bride.

As a general principle, Mr. Disraeli disapproves of the habit, recently sprung up, of conferring hereditary dignities on the civic authorities, as a matter of course, when they indulge in hospitality occasioned by the presence of Royal guests. These visits are encouraged, and, sometimes, even contrived, for the result.

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[1] The death, on the 17th June, of Mr. Gladstone's brother-in-law, Sir Stephen Glynne.

Mr. Disraeli, therefore, has not been precipitate in troubling your Majesty on the matter, as he wished to make the Lord Mayor understand that these considerable distinctions were not granted by your Majesty without discrimination. Considering, however, the peculiar circumstances under which the late City entertainments were given, and to whom they were intended to do honour, Mr. Disraeli would take your Majesty's pleasure, whether your Majesty might not think it expedient to pursue on this occasion the usual course. He, therefore, would ask your Majesty's permission to offer, on the part of your Majesty, the distinction of a Baronetcy to the Lord Mayor of London, and the honour of Knighthood to the Sheriffs of Middlesex.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 18*th July* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli . . . congratulates your Majesty on the present position of the Public Worship Bill. He calculates that it will be out of Committee by the end of next week, and that the third reading may take place on Monday week.

There are difficulties as to the source from which the Judge is to be paid. Mr. Disraeli has summoned a Cabinet for Monday, when they will consider this subject as well as the clause in the Endowed Schools Bill, affecting the Dissenters, which your Majesty has noticed.

Mr. Disraeli has been a great sufferer during the week, but he has never been absent from his place.

Indisposition, the very late hours, and the necessity for constant personal attention to affairs in the House of Commons, have combined to prevent his giving your Majesty such a general view of what has taken place as would be worthy of your Majesty's notice. The events have been so rapid, the changes so striking, and the results, occasionally, so doubtful, that he has been afraid of misleading your Majesty by hasty reports and generalisations.

The great events of the week have been the position taken up by Mr. Disraeli on Monday, which forced that of Mr. Gladstone; the debate on Wednesday, sustained for seven hours with great power, when the Bill was read a second time without a division; and the retreat of Mr. Gladstone on Friday morning, which had been fixed for discussing his resolutions, and when, instead, the House went into Committee on the Bill.

Everything proved the Protestant spirit of the new House of Commons, fresh from their constituents. The High Church, which had been extremely arrogant, became wonderfully crestfallen and conciliatory.

One of the most striking speeches in the debate was that of Mr. Walter[1]; the most powerful, both in declamation and vigorous grasp, that of Sir William Harcourt.

With his humble duty Mr. Disraeli presumes to add that he is fairly well again.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 21*st July* 1874.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli for his two letters, and is extremely sorry that he has not been well, and she fears he must have been very much worried.

She must draw his attention to an observation of Mr. Hardy's the other night, which if it was correctly reported, would be very extraordinary. It was reported in the newspapers that he had said the Queen was *not* the *Head of the Church*. Now the Sovereign of this country has always been considered the Head of the Church, and also of the Scotch Church, but still more so of the English. This might be rectified if he really said it.

The Queen fears that the Endowed Schools Bill will cause great bitterness if it passes as it is.

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[1] The third John Walter (1818–1890), M.P. for Berkshire; chief proprietor of *The Times*.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, *25th July* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli . . . has requested the Lord Chancellor to draw up a Memorandum for your Majesty, on your Majesty's title with respect to the Headship of the Church.

Mr. Hardy maintains the title "Head of the Church" was waived by Queen Elizabeth, and has never been revived; and that your Majesty's title is "Supreme Governor" or something in that vein.

With respect to the Scotch Church, the Lord Advocate informs Mr. Disraeli that the Sovereign has never adopted or claimed the Headship; that the connection of the Sovereign with the Kirk is purely civil.

Mr. Disraeli will desire the Lord Advocate also to draw up a Memorandum for your Majesty.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, *26th July* 1874.— . . . Lord Malmesbury, or the Lord Chancellor, will have the honour of attending your Majesty on Wednesday.

They will be able to give your Majesty all explanations your Majesty may require.

The School Endowments Bill was not looked upon as a Bill of very great importance. It was what is called a Continuance Bill, and the reason why it excited so much attention was in consequence of its proposal to supersede the existing Commissioners, a proposal sanctioned by the House of Commons by the large majority of 85.

But the chief superseded Commissioner, Lord Lyttelton, was the brother-in-law of Mr. Gladstone, who expended all his energies and eloquence in favour of Lord Lyttelton and his companions.

The clauses respecting schools were merely carrying into effect the resolutions, moved in the Committee of the House of Commons last year by Mr. Hardy, and which were negatived only by the casting vote of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Forster, then Vice-President of the Council. It was quite impossible that the Church party should not claim an attempt at legislation in favour of resolutions so strongly supported, and that in a House where the Ministry of the day, represented by Mr. Forster, had so large a majority on general matters.

Mr. Disraeli with the utmost diffidence, and with unaffected humility, would presume to lay before your Majesty the consideration that your Majesty's views respecting the Archbishop's Bill have been carried into effect, and with great loyalty by every member of the Cabinet, although the individual sentiments of some of them were avowedly not too friendly to it.

In two or three days the Public Worship Bill will have passed. The passing of this Bill, and the failure of the Church clauses[1] in the Endowment, are a trial to men of very strong feelings and convictions on these subjects, and as they appear to have made up their minds to act harmoniously with the rest of their colleagues, Mr. Disraeli earnestly hopes that, in addition to some natural mortification on their part, there may not be joined the chagrin that they have incurred the displeasure and forfeited the confidence of a gracious Mistress.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, *4th Aug.* 1874.—Started at 4 with Beatrice and Fanny G., Sir T. Biddulph and Colonel Byng following, for Steephill Castle, Ventnor. There is a handsome large door, inside which stood the Empress Elizabeth[2] looking very lovely, like a beautiful picture, with her magnificent hair, in which there is a rich tinge of auburn, braided all round her head, and forming as it were a diadem. Her waist is smaller than anything one can imagine, and her walk most graceful. As soon as we were seated, she sent for her little girl Valérie, only six, who has her mother's dark eyes and very thick hair. The Empress idolises her. The lady and gentleman came in before we left, and after we had had tea. The Empress took us to the door.

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[1] The clauses in the Endowed Schools Bill, which restored some of the Endowed Schools to the Church of England, were abandoned by the Government in face of the determined opposition of the Liberal party.

[2] Of Austria; wife of the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Queen Victoria to Archbishop Tait.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *6th Aug.* 1874.—The Queen thanks the Archbishop of Canterbury for his kind letter[1] received this morning.

She was terrified when she heard suddenly from Mr. Disraeli by telegraph in the afternoon that the Bill was in great danger; but, just as she was going to reply, the welcome news that the Bill had passed without a division reached her.

To have lost the Bill would have been a triumph to that party which has done so much to undermine the Church, and to poison the minds of the young and of the higher classes, a party for which the Queen cannot deny she has the greatest abhorrence, as she believes them to be *R. Catholics at heart, and very insincere* as to their professions of attachment to the Church.

Mr. Disraeli has had a most difficult task, and has managed it with that tact and temper for which he is so remarkable. She is sorry to see how unwise and unprotestant a line Mr. Gladstone has taken.

The Queen trusts that the Archbishop's health has not suffered from the anxiety and annoyance which the carrying of this measure through Parliament must have caused him!

More will have hereafter to be done, she feels sure. And what does he expect from the revision of the Rubrics?

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[1] In which the Archbishop announced the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Bill into law, and expressed "his sense of the great obligations under which your Majesty has placed the Church by the constant care with which your Majesty has watched over this measure." For the circumstances in which the Bill finally passed the Commons, see Introductory Note.

General Ponsonby to Sir Arthur Helps.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 11*th September* 1874.

MY DEAR HELPS,—Paragraphs have been lately appearing about the Prince of Wales's debts. Mr. P. A. Taylor has written a letter to his constituents about them, and the *World* has published three leading articles stating that his Royal Highness owed £600,000, that he applied to Mr. Gladstone to bring the matter before Parliament, and that he refused, that Mr. Disraeli was to be asked to do so, and finally that the Queen had paid off these debts.

There is not a word of truth in any of the above statements.

If the Prince of Wales at any time exceeded his annual income on account of his building operations or from other similar causes, he has met the extra call by falling back on his capital. But these excesses of expenditure over income have been very trifling. And it is utterly untrue to state that he is in debt. Consequently the following statements are equally false.

The Queen thinks that the repetition of this scandalous assertion may lead to its being believed, and though her Majesty does not wish to contradict by authority the assertions of such a newspaper as the *World*, the Queen would like some friendly hint given to the *Daily Telegraph*, whose editor I believe you know, as he might expose the falsehood of the whole story. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ABERGELDIE, 15*th Sept.* 1874.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that it is desirable to withdraw Mr. Jervoise from his present post at Rome.

He is placed there to be in unofficial communication with the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli; and to collect information as to the movements of the Catholic hierarchy.

Mr. Jervoise has discharged his duty creditably; but Lord Derby cannot recollect that any information of value has been sent home by him since February last; and the keeping up of his unofficial relations with the Pope is undesirable on various grounds.

It is regarded with great dislike and suspicion by the English public, and not much approved of by the Italian Government and people. It is constantly used by the Papal party as evidence that the British Government continue to regard the Pope as a sovereign, and expect the restoration of the temporal power. It is supposed here to be a part of the old scheme of governing Ireland through the Catholic priests; a policy which would upset any Government that favoured it.

To break off this unofficial relation, there can be no more opportune moment than the present, when feeling on this class of subjects is strong, and a vindication of the tendencies of the Cabinet is earnestly looked for.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Bretby Park, 22*nd Sept.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

His troubles culminated, on Saturday last, with a rather severe attack of gout. Lady Chesterfield would not take the responsibility of his leaving Bretby in this condition, even had it been possible; so he has remained here, though there are few things, perhaps, more distressing, than to be an invalid under any roof but your own.

Mr. Disraeli is ashamed to refer to such matters in a communication to his Sovereign, but, after all that had occurred, it seemed to him that it was his duty that your Majesty should be made acquainted how, and where he was.

He had the honour to forward a box to your Majesty from this place last Saturday. It mainly referred to his contemplated visit to Scotland [? Ireland], which now will certainly not take place. He has not yet heard from the Duke of Abercorn in reply to Mr. Disraeli's suggestion that the visit should be relinquished.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

GLASSALT SHIEL,[1] LOCH MUICH, 26*th Oct.* 1874.—. . . What *does* he [Mr. Martin] *say* to the *dreadful indiscretion* and DISGRACEFULLY *bad taste* of Mr. Reeve in publishing Mr. C. Greville's scurrilous Journal,[2] without eliminating what is very offensive and most disloyal towards the Sovereigns he served, and the Sovereigns and Princes whose hospitality and even intimacy he enjoyed! And to leave the names in full when the children and near relatives of those he abuses are alive, is unheard of!

The Queen *hopes* and wishes Mr. Reeve will and *should* know what *she* thinks of such conduct. It is especially revolting to her, as *she* is put in comparison with her uncle and predecessor, who, though undignified and peculiar and not highly gifted, was very *honest*, most extremely conscientious and anxious to do his duty, and most kind to herself, though not always in a judicious manner. The Queen is determined that on some occasion or other she will make known *what she* knows of his character. Of George IV, too, he speaks in such shocking language; really language not fit for any gentleman to use of any other gentleman or human being, still less of his Sovereign.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 30*th October* 1874.

DEAR LORD CARNARVON,—It has given the Queen much pleasure to receive your letter enclosing the copy of a telegram from Sir H. Robinson.[3]

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[1] A shooting-box on the Balmoral estate.

[2] The first series of the Greville Journal, dealing with the years 1818–1830.

[3] Announcing the unconditional cession of Fiji.

Her Majesty feels that it would be premature to express an opinion on the events that are reported to have taken place at Fiji, before the despatches arrive, but it would appear that Sir Hercules has executed the duty confided to him without delay and with much discretion.—Henry F. Ponsonby.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

Balmoral Castle, *9th Nov.* 1874.—The Queen writes to Mr. Disraeli on a subject which originated entirely in her own mind, but which on mentioning it [to] the Duke of Richmond, she finds would give him the greatest pleasure, and was a thing he had frequently wished. The Queen, namely, asked him in conversation, how it was that he, who has succeeded to that splendid property in Scotland, which he manages admirably, and is devoted to, has never been made *Duke of Gordon*? He said he had often thought of that, and was much gratified at the Queen's mention of it. The Queen thinks that, as the Duke is the direct descendant on the female side of the Duke of Gordon, and as his possessions are very large, it would be a right and proper thing, as well as very popular in Scotland, if that noble old title were to be revived and conferred on him; he would then be called Duke of Gordon and Richmond. The Queen thinks, besides, that it is not right that when these great possessions pass into English hands, they should be treated as a secondary possession, and in some cases, like Lord Aveland, who has Drummond Castle, or who will have it when his mother dies, probably be only treated like a shooting place. By conferring this great title on the Duke of Richmond, it will at once do away with this, and have the very best effect. No one is more devoted to and appreciates Scotland and her noble people more than the Duke of Richmond does. She does not know what would be the second title, for it used to be Marquis of Huntly, but that can, no doubt, easily be managed.

He could still be Earl of March, and a Scotch title added.[1]

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

BALMORAL, 17*th Nov.* 1874.—The Queen is thankful to Mr. Disraeli for his reports respecting the Cabinet, which are very satisfactory.

She would wish to speak to him when he can come to Windsor, about the various measures proposed, but she must express her regret at the idea of another Polar expedition.[2] No real good can be gained by it, and many lives are lost and great sufferings occasioned by it.

She hopes it will *not* be encouraged. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 10*th Nov.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

One of the reasons that most powerfully influenced the Cabinet in their resolution as to the Arctic expedition was, that, had not your Majesty's Government undertaken the expedition, it would have been attempted by private enterprise.

Now, private enterprise of this kind always fails. Its failure is occasioned by want of discipline in the crew; and then, when the private expedition has failed, the Government is forced to send out a public one to look after the private victims.

When the proposal was first made by the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to it, on the ground of expense, and, Mr. Disraeli supporting the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the subject was allowed to drop, though all the other Ministers were in its favour. But, the next day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer withdrew his opposition, in consequence of the state of public opinion, and, after this, any resistance was impossible.

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[1] Fourteen months later, on 13th January 1876, the Duke of Richmond was created Duke of Gordon and Earl of Kinrara, in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

[2] The Government had determined to organise a new expedition to the Arctic regions under the command of Captain George Nares, R.N.

Pressed by the Geographical Society, even a day at this season being precious, Mr. Disraeli, after some little time, assumed perhaps too hastily that your Majesty did not disapprove of the expedition. He regrets his haste, for he has, he will not say a superstition, but as your Majesty, he thinks, knows, a deep and real confidence in your Majesty's judgment, and dislikes ever to act at variance with it. However, in this case he is bound to say, that there is so strong a feeling, he might even [say] enthusiasm, on this subject of Polar discovery in powerful circles of thought, that he does not think he could have avoided pressing it again on your Majesty's notice.

Lord Cairns to Queen Victoria.

Cromwell Houses, 20*th* *Nov.* 1874.—The Chancellor, with his humble duty to your Majesty, submits for your Majesty's approval the cancellation of the appointment and letters patent of Dr. Kenealy, as one of your Majesty's Counsel.

Dr. Kenealy is the Editor of a newspaper called the *Englishman*, and is held out as its Editor, under his rank as Q.C. The paper consists of a series of libels, of the grossest kind, on your Majesty's Judges, and on all persons concerned, whether as Judges, Jury, or Counsel, in the recent Tichborne trial,[1] imputing to them bias, venality, and corruption, and tending, and intended, to degrade and bring into contempt the administration of justice.

The subject has been brought under the consideration of the Cabinet, and while your Majesty's Ministers are advised that a criminal information might be filed against Dr. Kenealy by your Majesty's Attorney-General for these libels, they are of opinion that it would not be expedient to adopt that course, but that the Chancellor should humbly advise your

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[1] See above, pp. 329, 330.

Majesty to direct Dr. Kenealy's appointment, as one of your Majesty's Counsel, to be cancelled.

General Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd Nov.* 1874.—General Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Dr. Kenealy's language and the articles in his paper have been so scandalous that it is difficult to believe he is in his right mind. As the Benchers are about to eject him from their Society, it would be wrong that he should continue to be a Counsel to your Majesty, and this action of the Lord Chancellor's, though severe, is unavoidable.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 26*th Nov.* 1874.— . . . Lord Carnarvon ventures to take your Majesty's pleasure as to the name which this Colony [Fiji] should henceforth bear. All the past associations that are connected with the name of Fiji are barbarous and unpleasing; the very name is a corruption by illiterate sailors and traders of the native designation of Viti; and every consideration would seem to indicate the propriety of some change. Lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the New Hebrides, these islands might perhaps be named the New Orkneys; or from the beauty of their climate and appearance they might perhaps be fitly called the "Fair Islands"; but upon the whole Lord Carnarvon is inclined to think that the least pretending and most suitable name—and the one which perhaps would be most appreciated in the Australian Colonies which are so largely interested in the future fortunes of this new dependency of your Majesty's Crown—would be "Oceania." In some atlases this name is already assigned to the collective groups of islands in the South Pacific; but there is no special authority for this, and it is quite open, if your Majesty approves of it, to appropriate it to the Fiji group.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, *30th Nov.* 1874.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He does not think any of the titles very happy, and that the world in general would hardly be of opinion that a change from Fiji to Viti is a sufficient improvement to justify the revolution.

Why should not your Majesty name them after your Majesty's famous residence: the Windsor Isles? It is national, historic, stately, and picturesque; and not "too fanciful," which ought to be avoided. . . .

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*] Windsor Castle, 1*st December* 1874.

Dear Lord Carnarvon,— . . . Her Majesty scarcely likes any of the names proposed for her new possessions, and the Queen doubts whether there is any necessity for changing the name under which these islands are popularly known.

Although Fiji may be a corruption of a native word, it is undoubtedly the name by which these islands are called in civilised countries at the present time, and the Queen thinks it would be better to adhere to that name than to invite hostile criticism by the selection of some appellation which might be unappropriate or meaningless. Yours very truly, Henry F. Ponsonby.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

Windsor Castle, *3rd Dec.* 1874.—Lord Derby with his humble duty submits to your Majesty that he thinks it inconvenient in various ways to change a well-established geographical name without some obvious reason: "Fiji" is on every European map, and Lord Derby can see nothing in the name so barbarous or ill-sounding as to make an alteration necessary.

He will mention the matter to Lord Carnarvon, who he does not doubt will drop the idea when he finds your Majesty's opinion opposed to it.

Dean Stanley to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, 21*st* *Dec.* 1874.—The Dean of Westminster presents his humble duty to your Majesty. It was an inexpressible relief and pleasure to receive your Majesty's most gracious approval of what he had done.[1] . . .

The Dean (if he may venture to say so) is even yet more gratified by the tenor of your Majesty's language on the question of the subject races of the Queen's dominions. He knows of nothing more worthy of the Sovereign of the British Empire than the expression of that genuine, humane, and Christian sympathy with the various nations brought under the English rule, which, as the Queen says most truly, Englishmen in the Colonies are so apt to forget. The Dean will have the greatest pleasure in communicating, and the Bishop of Natal[2] will feel the deepest gratitude in receiving, your Majesty's expression of approval. This, of course, would be strictly private. The Dean does not know whether he is venturing too far in suggesting that, if it were possible for the Queen to convey the same sentiments to Lord Carnarvon (who has behaved, it is said, admirably well in this matter) in a form which might meet the public eye, it would be, no doubt, a great support to the Bishop on his return to the Colony, where by his noble conduct he has alienated those friends who in his ecclesiastical struggles had hitherto supported him. . . .

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[1] In championing Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, who was accused of heresy.

[2] Dr. Colenso warmly espoused the cause of a native chief, Langalibalele, who suffered, in his opinion, serious ill-treatment at the hands of the Natal Government; and he had come home largely with a view to obtain justice for Langalibalele.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 24*th Dec.* 1874.—The Queen has privately, through a mutual friend, expressed to the Bishop of Natal her sense of his noble, disinterested conduct in favour of the natives who were so unjustly used, and in general her very strong feeling (and she has few stronger) that the natives and coloured races should be treated with every kindness and affection, as brothers, not—as, alas! Englishmen too often do—as totally different beings to ourselves, fit only to be crushed and shot down!

The Queen knows that Lord Carnarvon entirely shares her feelings, but she would be glad if, in some way or other, he would make these sentiments of the Queen known generally. It would shame those disgraceful feelings above alluded to, and would encourage those who take the right course, and it would also conciliate the native races themselves.

28*th Dec.*—With respect to Lord Carnarvon's letter,[1] for which the Queen thanks him, her principal object is, not that anything should be said with respect to the present occasion, though she would like it known how much she appreciates the Bishop of Natal's disinterestedness in coming the whole way home, but that, *in general*, *all* her Colonial Governors should *know* her feelings on this *subject* of the *native races.*

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[1] Lord Carnarvon had said in his letter that he would "not fail to bear in mind all that your Majesty has said on this subject, and when a fitting opportunity presents itself to obey your Majesty's commands in the manner which seems to him at once best and most in accordance with your Majesty's desire."

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV

Before the Parliamentary session of 1875 opened, Mr. Gladstone announced his definite retirement from the leadership of the Liberal party. Mr. Forster, who had been prominently suggested for the succession, declined to have his name submitted; Lord Hartington accordingly was elected unanimously, by a meeting of Liberal Members of Parliament, leader of the party in the Commons, Lord Granville remaining leader in the Lords. The session was mainly occupied with the development of the Government programme of social reform; and important bills dealing with Artisans' Dwellings, Friendly Societies, the law of Master and Servant and of "conspiracy," Agricultural Holdings, Merchant Shipping, and Public Health were passed, some of them in the teeth of strong Radical resistance, due to the Free-Trade tradition of *laisser-faire*.

Attention was increasingly directed during the year to foreign politics. The rapid resurrection of French military power and preparation profoundly irritated, and perhaps alarmed, the military and civil chiefs in Berlin; and in the spring of this year the German press was mobilised to call attention to this menace, while German diplomatists held similar language in the various European capitals. It looked as if Bismarck had determined to force a quarrel on France and crush her once for all. She appealed to England and Russia. The Russian Emperor, who was about to visit Berlin, sent an urgent message to the German Emperor deprecating a hasty decision, and when he arrived on 10th May spoke earnestly for peace. The British Ambassador in Berlin was instructed strongly to support the cause of peace, and Queen Victoria reinforced these instructions by a personal letter to the Emperor Alexander. The German Emperor and Bismarck protested that Germany had never entertained the intentions attributed to her; and in a subsequent correspondence with Queen Victoria the Emperor William assumed, somewhat awkwardly, an air of injured innocence.

In July the Eastern Question was reopened, owing to a revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, though it appeared insignificant at first, gradually widened into a serious danger, owing to the incompetence, complicated in October by the partial bankruptcy, of the Turkish Government. The three Imperial Powers, Russia, Austria, and Germany, consulted together, and, in the Andrassy Note, pressed, at the end of the year, a series of reforms on the Sultan. The bankruptcy of Turkey immediately affected the credit of Egypt, where the Khedive Ismail's more than Oriental extravagance had left him with few resources beyond his 177,000 shares (out of a total of 400,000) in the Suez Canal. These he proposed to sell or mortgage privately to French financiers in order to meet the coupons, just maturing, on the Egyptian public debt. Mr. Disraeli, on getting wind of the negotiation, persuaded his Cabinet to purchase the shares for the British Government at the price of £4,000,000. Owing to the assistance of Messrs. Rothschild, the matter was concluded in ten days, and the contract signed on 25th November; and thus a large measure of control over a main imperial highway was secured to Great Britain.

In Germany a critical stage was reached in the struggle between Church and State. Civil registration for births, marriages, and deaths was instituted by law throughout the Reich. The Pope, on his part, issued an Encyclical on 5th February, declaring the Falk laws invalid, and proclaiming that all who had assisted in carrying them out had fallen under the ban of excommunication. In reply, Dr. Falk passed Bills in the Prussian Diet withdrawing State grants from Roman Catholic bishops, allowing Old Catholics to hold their services in Catholic parish churches, and abolishing conventual establishments.

In France the growing strength of the Bonapartists brought the Orleanists and the Moderate Republicans for a while together, and so enabled the National Assembly to establish a Constitution, consisting of a Senate elected mainly by the Departments, a third of the body retiring every three years; a Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage; and a President of the Republic, elected by Senate and Chamber voting together, and having a seven-years term. The National Assembly, after an existence of five years, held its last sitting on 31st December.

The newly proclaimed King of Spain, Alphonso XII, landed at Barcelona on 9th January, and was generally well received in the country. The civil war with the Carlists nevertheless continued, but the insurgents were apparently being worn down by the end of the year. In Italy the most notable events were visits paid by the monarchs of the Central Powers to King Victor Emmanuel, who received the Emperor Francis Joseph at Venice in April, and the Emperor William at Milan in October.

An attempt this year by Lord Carnarvon to promote the Confederation of the British Colonies in South Africa and of the two Dutch Republics proved abortive, owing primarily to his failure to secure the adhesion of the Cape Government to his scheme. In Natal, however, his Special Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, was happily able to establish a more satisfactory form of administration and a more humane native policy. Delagoa Bay, the claim to which was disputed between Great Britain and Portugal, was awarded by President MacMahon, acting as arbitrator, to Portugal. In India, the Gaekwar of Baroda, who was accused, but not legally convicted, of endeavouring to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, and who had a previous record of misconduct, was deposed by the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook. The murder of a British consular official, Mr. Margary, in China near the borders of Burma, led to delicate negotiations with both these Oriental Powers.

During the year the Queen was afflicted by anxiety and sorrow. Prince Leopold, her youngest son, who had never had a strong constitution, was for a time seriously ill in January. In August, while crossing from the Isle of Wight, the royal yacht, with her Majesty on board, had the ill-fortune to collide with the sailing yacht *Mistletoe* in the Solent, with loss of life. In October the Prince of Wales, not without some misgiving on the part of the Queen, went to India to spend the cold weather there in making himself familiar with the country and its princes and peoples.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
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BRANCH

CHAPTER XIV

1875

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 1*st Jan.* 1875.—Another new year, which begins with terrible grief, so unexpected for many, in four families we know well, a dreadful railway accident and awful shipwreck,[1] and our poor dear Leopold ill. But God has been very merciful to him, and may He continue to be so, and carry him through well, to the end! I pray for God's blessing on all my dear ones, and for guidance and strength during this year.

Went with Beatrice to wish dear Leopold a happy new year, and God knows a different one to the one that is past, nearly eight months of which he has spent unable to walk, and a great part as a complete invalid.

Lord Northbrook to Queen Victoria.

Government House, Calcutta, 1*st Jan.* 1875.—Lord Northbrook presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to bring to your Majesty's notice that the British Indian Association of Calcutta, a body which represents to a considerable extent the landed proprietors of Bengal, in an address which they have recently presented to Lord Northbrook on the subject of the danger of famine through which the country has, by God's blessing, safely passed, made a request in the following words:

"We solicit that your Excellency will be pleased to convey to her gracious Majesty the Queen our devoted loyalty and humble gratitude for her deep sympathy with her suffering subjects in the recent affliction, and her liberality in patronising the funds raised for their relief."

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[1] In December 1874 there were no fewer than 34 railway accidents, of which 23 were collisions; 37 persons were killed and 22 dangerously injured. Several occurred in the last week of the year. There were also many disasters at sea, of which the most terrible was the burning of the emigrant ship *Cospatrick*, bound for Auckland, by which nearly 500 lives were lost.

To this request Lord Northbrook gave a reply in which he did no more than to repeat, almost in the very words used by your Majesty in several communications with which your Majesty has favoured him, the sentiments which your Majesty has expressed. Lord Northbrook said :

" It will be my grateful duty to comply with your request that I should convey to the Queen your expressions of devoted loyalty and gratitude. I have received her Majesty's commands to express upon all occasions the deep interest she takes in her Indian subjects ; and during the time that famine threatened Bengal and Behar, I was honoured by frequent communications from her Majesty, expressing her deep sympathy with the people, her anxiety on their account, and her earnest hope that the measures taken to remedy the calamity to which they were exposed would be found sufficient.

" Nothing, I feel assured, could afford greater satisfaction to the Queen than to know that the effect of those measures has been to strengthen the bonds of sympathy not only between the people and her Government, but also between all classes of her subjects in India."

In now complying with the request of the Association, Lord Northbrook hopes that the manner in which he has answered them may meet with your Majesty's approval. . . .

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, 12*th January* 1875.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen fears that Mr. Macdonnell[1] has never served in Germany, and therefore cannot know the German people. Her

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[1] Afterwards Sir Hugh Guion Macdonnell, and Minister in Lisbon.

Majesty thinks this a serious objection to his being appointed Secretary at Berlin, as German affairs are not easily understood by foreigners, and difficulties may consequently arise. Yours, etc., HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 13*th January* 1875.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I have your letter of yesterday. In answer to it, may I ask you to convey to the Queen my respectful thanks for her message sent through you? But I must venture to press for the appointment of Mr. Macdonnell. He has earned his promotion by good service in various countries; and I know of no one whom I could put over his head without doing an injustice, which I am sure the Queen would not wish to sanction.

As to his not having a special knowledge of German affairs, you will remember that his chief, Lord Odo, is perfectly familiar with them, and that the duty of a Secretary of Embassy is only to give assistance, not to conduct negotiations on his own account. I don't in the least doubt the importance of a knowledge of German politics; but, after all, are they more intricate than those of Italy, Spain, France, or the East? Yet we transfer men from each of these countries to some other, thinking that the general experience acquired by such transfers outweighs the advantage of a more minute and special acquaintance with the affairs of any one State.

If the German service is to be (so to speak) specialised, the same must be done with other States; and the result would be to break up the *Corps Diplomatique* of this country into a number of detached bodies, no one of which could in case of need supply help to any other.

If Mr. Macdonnell does not give satisfaction at Berlin, means can be taken to move him elsewhere after a time; but I think he ought to have a trial, the more so as I really don't know whom I could

suggest instead—irrespective of the hardship to him
—Very truly yours, DERBY.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, *14th January* 1875.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—As you have expressed so earnest a desire for the appointment of Mr. Macdonnell to Berlin, the Queen will not refuse her assent.

But at the same time the Queen cannot concur in the views expressed by you in your letter.

The German service is different in many respects from any other. The future Empress is the Queen's daughter, and often finds many difficulties to contend with, when the advice of an English representative, who fully understands Germany, is most important.

No one is capable of giving better advice than Lord Odo Russell, but he is necessarily occasionally absent, sometimes for months, and the Princess Royal must then rely on the Secretary of Legation.

It cannot be denied that Germany is one of the greatest Powers in Europe, and its policy is every day more and more influencing that of the other countries. It is at all times most intricate and difficult to understand, and few Englishmen who have not lived for a part of their lives in the country can interpret the German mind. Therefore it is most essential that Lord Odo should be ably supported by one who is already acquainted with, and has not to learn the meaning of, the thoughts, habits, and speech of the people, and who can assist him in removing the unaccountable prejudice that apparently exists against us in Berlin.

The Queen makes no objection to Mr. Macdonnell personally, and believes him to be an able man. Her Majesty would regret to inflict any hardship on him, and therefore, trusting that you will not hesitate to move him elsewhere if it be found that he is unable to give satisfaction at Berlin, has approved your submission for his appointment.—Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 14*th Jan.* 1875.—Saw Mr. Martin, after taking tea with Leopold. He is much gratified at the success of the dear *Life*.[1] Mrs. Oliphant's review in *Blackwood* is extremely good. Talked about it, and how pleased he is at the letters he has received from my children.

15*th Jan.*—Leopold going on so well that Dr. Marshall said he had nothing to report! Alas! unlucky words, which often precede a new illness.

After luncheon was much upset at hearing from Dr. Marshall that Leopold had hæmorrhage from the bowels, which was most distressing and alarming. He had sent for Dr. Hoffmeister and telegraphed for Sir Wm. Jenner. Poor Leopold himself was in terrible distress about it. Went to see poor Leopold, who was lying flat on his back, very quiet, very pale, and looking very sad. It upset me much to see him like that.

Saw Lord Salisbury, who spoke of the Cabinet, of Mr. Disraeli being quite well again, of the different measures under discussion, of the new dwellings for the poor, etc., and the recognition of the King of Spain. Spoke also of India, and the Viceroy's having been obliged to take temporary possession of Baroda, on account of the Gaekwar being supposed to have tried to poison our agent, Colonel Phayre.

The Duchess of Roxburghe, the Maids of Honour, Lord Salisbury (who is particularly agreeable and gentle, and who one could not believe could be so severe and sarcastic in debate), General Ponsonby, and Mr. Martin dined. Saw Sir Wm. Jenner, who had just arrived, and was much distressed, as he had thought dear Leopold was quite safe now. This had been what he had dreaded for the first fortnight or three weeks, and for hæmorrhage to come on at the end of the fever was most unusual. He advised my writing at once to Bertie and Louise, and to let the rest of the family know. Went late, and with an anxious heart, to bed.

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[1] The first volume of the *Life of the Prince Consort* was published towards the close of 1874.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 21*st Jan.* 1875.—The Queen feels, as Mr. Disraeli knows, *very anxious* as to the High Church, and indeed all violent tendencies in the Church, which is very shaky; and thinks it of the utmost importance that *really intellectual*, liberal-minded, courageous men, who can likewise stand against the atheistic and materialistic tendencies existing amongst many, and which cannot be checked by evangelical trash, should be appointed and promoted. She, therefore, having much opportunity of hearing from *different* people, on whose judgment she *can place reliance*, sends Mr. Disraeli some names of distinguished divines whom it would be *well* to promote, and which he could keep as a *Memorandum*.

For *Canonries: The Rev. W. Warburton* (School Inspector), liberal—in a religious point of view, and sensible, and a fine preacher.

The Rev. Stopford Brooke,[1] St. James's Chapel, one of the Queen's Chaplains, a fine preacher and clever man; he wrote the life of the celebrated Robertson of Brighton, and is personally known to the Queen.

The Rev. H[*arry*] *Jones*, Rector of St. George's in the East, vigorous and liberal.

The Rev. G. Bradley,[2] Master of University College, Oxford, liberal, moderate, and energetic.

The Rev. Llewelyn Davies, Rector of Christ Church, Marylebone, liberal, and very able, both as a writer and administrator.

The Rev. W. G. Humphry, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, very honest and sensible. The last four would do for *Deaneries* and even Bishoprics, as well as the following:

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[1] A distinguished man of letters, who in 1880 seceded from the Church of England.

[2] Afterwards Dean of Westminster.

Prof. Lightfoot[1]—Canon of St. Paul's (well known to the Queen).

Dr. Butler,[2] Headmaster of Harrow School, both excellent men.

All but the two first would do for *Deaneries* and *Bishoprics*; for Bishoprics especially the two last.

There are some few others for livings, who the Queen will mention later.

Mr. Blunt, Lord Hertford's son-in-law, though not remarkable in any way, is a very good, moderate man, and a good preacher, and the Queen would be glad if he could be appointed, when an opportunity occurs, to a stall at Worcester. He has been long Vicar of Old Windsor, and Chaplain in Windsor Park.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 21*st Jan.* 1875.—It is not without hesitation that Mr. Gladstone, perhaps for the last time, submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and presumes to address a few lines to your Majesty, but he is unable to withhold an expression of his deep sympathy with your Majesty under the trial of H.R.H. the Prince Leopold's illness, which commands all his feelings alike from long recollections and most dutiful regard to your Majesty, and from the interest which it would be unnatural for him not to feel in a Prince of so much mind, character, and promise. These sentiments he humbly desires to express also on his wife's behalf to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone has been for some days restrained by fear of presumption from saying to your Majesty a single word with reference to a recent change in his position as a Member of Parliament, which has been mentioned in the public journals.[3] But he prefers incurring this risk to what might on the other hand wear the aspect of ingratitude to your Majesty for all the marks of kindness and goodness which he has received.

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[1] Afterwards Bishop of Durham.

[2] Afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[3] Mr. Gladstone refers to his resignation of the leadership of the Liberal party.

He desires simply to assure your Majesty that, so long as powers of action are mercifully granted to him, he will never plead his relief from ordinary political responsibility as a reason for avoiding his duties in Parliament, so often as any case shall occur which shall touch either your Majesty personally or the Royal family, or the interests of the Throne, bound up as these are with the welfare of the country, and in which it may appear to lie within his power or hope to render any useful service.

He humbly prays your Majesty to pardon his burdening you with the receipt of this letter. And as he has had occasion to write it, he cannot close without expressing his profound concern, and indeed more than concern, at what your Majesty cannot but have felt in connection with some of the parts of a recent publication.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23*rd Jan.* 1875.—Poor Canon Kingsley,[2] who has been alarmingly ill for the last three or four weeks, died to-day, and is a sad loss! His wife was very ill at the same time, and neither could go to the other, which was dreadfully sad, and terrible for the two daughters. He was full of genius and energy, noble and warm-hearted, devoted, loyal and chivalrous, much attached to me and mine, full of enthusiasm, and most kind and good to the poor.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 26*th Jan.* 1875.— . . . Under other circumstances, the Queen would have waited till after the funeral, before writing to Mr. Disraeli about [Canon Kingsley's] successor. But the Queen feels it is of the utmost importance that the Dean of Westminster should be supported there, which he is not, and Kingsley was the only one he had. The other Canons, all good men, have neither talents as preachers, or as learned men, to be of any use to him, in his arduous task. There is a person, who the Queen did not mention before, but which she does now, and which she can conscientiously do, and that is Mr. *Duckworth*, for three years Governor to Prince Leopold, to whom he was previously instructor, and, since then, Incumbent of St. Mark's, in St. John's Wood, where both as preacher, and as parish minister, he has earned deserved praise. He is very accomplished, moderate and enlightened in his views, and likely to distinguish himself in the Church, and would be very acceptable to the Dean of Westminster. But above all, this appointment would greatly gratify her poor sick boy, and cheer him much. He was promised a stall before, when he left the Prince. The Queen feels sure, that Mr. Disraeli would find this appointment popular, and would be glad to gratify poor Leopold. There is no change in his condition.

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[1] The first portion of *Greville's Journal.*

[2] Charles Kingsley, the author, Rector of Eversley and Canon of Westminster.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 26*th Jan.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He has read with great interest the ecclesiastical enclosure in your Majesty's gracious letter,[1] forwarded to him at Weston.

Mr. Disraeli is, at all times, anxious to act on the same lines as your Majesty, not merely from a feeling of loyalty, but because he has great confidence in your Majesty's judgment and political experience.

But it is his duty to impress upon your Majesty, that the utmost discretion is requisite in advising your Majesty to confer patronage upon the Broad Church party. He feels sure he is speaking with perfect warrant when he says that the great mass of the Conservative party, in and out of Parliament, view the Broad Church school with more suspicion and aversion than they do the Ritualists; and he could not have carried the Public Worship Bill last Session, had not he given assurances to several influential persons, that the Ministry would, in no way, identify itself with the Broad Church movement. He hesitates not to say, that any marked sympathy of that kind would lose not only votes in the House of Commons, but at public elections.

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[1] The letter of 21st January, above.

It is also Mr. Disraeli's duty to state, that, if Church preferment were bestowed on some who are mentioned by name in your Majesty's confidential Memorandum, a disruption of the Cabinet would inevitably take place.

Mr. Disraeli writes without prejudice, but lays before your Majesty the circumstances, which he has to encounter and control.

There is a canonry now vacant, on which it had not been the intention of Mr. Disraeli at this moment to trouble your Majesty; but touching on these matters, he cannot refrain from mentioning, that your Majesty has a subject in Holy Orders, who especially deserves recognition at your Majesty's hands. And that is Sydney Turner,[1] the founder of the Reformatories, and even at this moment your Majesty's Inspector of those admirable institutions.

There are no words which can sufficiently do justice to his virtues: his resource, his patience, his ingenuity, and his energy. No man has done so much good work in his time, but he is now sixty, and Inspectorship begins to be a toil beyond his powers.

Though he has taken no prominent part in Church controversy, he is an entirely enlightened man.

Dean Stanley to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, *26th Jan.* 1875.—The Dean of Westminster presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has thought much of the question of the appointment, and he has been in communication with the Dean of Windsor. The Dean of Windsor has mentioned to him the name of Mr. Duckworth. The Dean of Westminster need not say that, as a personal friend of his own, as well as on account of the tender and constant services rendered to Prince Leopold, he would gladly accept such a nomination in itself. The only hesitation that he has is that, in filling the place vacated by such a distinguished name as that which has been lost, Mr. Duckworth's general qualifications are not quite equal to the occasion, although the Dean quite recognises the public claims which he has established by his activity in his parish, and by the use which he would be in directing the musical services of the Abbey. Of the names which he discussed with the Dean of Windsor, the one which on public grounds would be highly honourable, and on personal grounds very acceptable to the Dean, would be Mr. Bradley, Master of University College, Oxford, previously Master of Marlborough. He has been a most distinguished teacher, is a most laborious scholar, and as the income of his present post is very limited, the stall here would be a great assistance to him, and the Dean knows that he could count on a most active and useful colleague. Both Mr. Bradley and Mr. Duckworth have the same liberal views; and it is chiefly the feeling that Mr. Duckworth, being so much younger, has not yet so established his claims before the world, which would make the Dean, if left to himself, lean towards Mr. Bradley. But he would gladly welcome whichever of the two your Majesty's gracious consideration preferred. . . .

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[1] Son of Sharon Turner, the historian, friend of Mr. Disraeli's father. See below, p. 433.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, *27th Jan.* 1875.— . . . With respect to the Church patronage, the Queen quite sees and feels all Mr. Disraeli's difficulties; but at the same time, she is bound to tell him, and to urge upon him, the immense danger of the Church, which will *inevitably fall*, IF MEN of intellect and enlightened views are excluded, for fear of frightening members of the Government, and of Parliament, even with the *bugbear of Broad Church*. And she would strongly warn Mr. Disraeli *not* to listen to people, who would recommend either Ritualists or people belonging to the Evangelical School, than whom no more narrow-minded and uncharitable people exist. Beware of such, they will drive people to Atheism or Catholicism; and the Queen could not conscientiously agree to their appointment, for she feels that the Established Church is in great danger, and that she must do all to save it. The Queen did not mean that Mr. Disraeli should choose *all* those named, but there are some, who she knows many different moderate people respect, and like, such as Mr. Lightfoot and Mr. Bradley. She knows both and is most anxious for their advancement. But at the present *moment* she most strongly urges Mr. Duckworth, of whom the Archbishop of Canterbury has also a high opinion. Poor Leopold is most anxious for it even in his present weak state.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *27th Jan.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He conveyed a false impression to your Majesty, if he led your Majesty to believe that any of his colleagues interfere with the exercise of Church patronage, or that it would be necessary to place before them the name of any individual contemplated for preferment. But there is an understanding among them on these matters, which they have confidence Mr. Disraeli will observe.

Mr. Disraeli had strong reasons, both public and private, for mentioning the name of Sydney Turner to your Majesty, but he waives them. It is enough that your Majesty has any arrangement in his power "very much at heart," for him to fulfil it, if possible.

He will, therefore, take the necessary steps for the preferment of Mr. Duckworth to the vacant Canonry; only he would ask, as a favour of your Majesty, to let the appointment be secret for a week.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

Osborne, 28*th Jan.* 1875.—The Queen wishes to thank Mr. Disraeli, very sincerely, for the very kind way in which he has acceded to her wish for Mr. Duckworth's nomination, which she will keep as he desires a secret for a week. But he would have been gratified had he seen the pleasure which lighted up the white emaciated face of the dear invalid, when she told him of it.

The Queen is sure that it is a good appointment,[1] for Mr. Duckworth is full of talent and energy, and will be popular at Westminster, for his social qualities, as well as from his activity amongst the poor. Poor Canon Kingsley was immensely beloved there, as elsewhere.

Mr. Disraeli must not be annoyed at the strength of the Queen's expressions yesterday, but the danger to the Church is *so great*, that we must look beyond mere feelings of colleagues and votes in Parliament, which are *temporary*, whereas the preferments in the Church are of *lasting effect*, for good or evil. And we want not merely zealous pious men, we want talents and intellect to grapple with the dangers of Atheism and Catholicism.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 31*st Jan.* 1875.—The Queen must thank Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter of the 21st, and for his enquiries after poor Prince Leopold, who has been a cause of great anxiety to her ever since the 21st December. But he passed through the typhoid fever most easily, and without one bad symptom, so that this terrible attack of hæmorrhage coming on just when he was considered quite convalescent was doubly distressing. Thank God! he is now going on very favourably, and has shown his usual great vitality.

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[1] The appointment was unfavourably criticised.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for communicating to her his resolution of retiring from the more active duties of Parliamentary life, for which she was not entirely unprepared after what he told her himself last year.

She knows that his zeal and untiring energy have always been exerted with the desire of advancing the welfare of the nation, and maintaining the honour of the Crown, and she thanks him for his loyal assurances of support on all occasions when it may become necessary.

The Queen was sure that Mr. Gladstone would be shocked at that horrible book[1] to which he alludes. Her dear husband's *Life*, so pure and bright, presents a favourable and useful contrast to this most scandalous publication.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

18 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 30*th Jan.* 1875.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has explained to Lady Ely what passed about his letter of heartfelt thanks for the *Life of the Prince Consort.*

He ventures to inform your Majesty that, in his opinion, Lord Hartington will be elected leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, at the meeting next Wednesday.

Nothing can be more straightforward than his and Mr. Forster's conduct in the matter. Neither of them desires the post, which is one of great difficulty at all times, but of which the difficulties are still greater at the present time.

Mr. Forster has many qualifications, but the choice of him would cause great division in the party. The political Nonconformists, and many of the most moderate Liberals, would have opposed him, and he would not have been supported by all his late colleagues. Lord Granville has no right to say so, but he thinks Mr. Gladstone more likely to upset Mr. Forster, than Lord Hartington.

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[1] The first portion of *Greville's Journal.*

Lord Granville proposes to continue in the position he has hitherto held in the House of Lords, and hopes to prevent any allusion to himself at the meeting.

Lord Granville cannot say with what pleasure he hears of the slightest improvement in Prince Leopold's health, and the consequent relief to your Majesty.

He ventures to ask your Majesty to consider as personal and confidential what he has said about the leadership of the party in the House of Commons.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 31*st Jan.* 1875.—In the Queen's letter of to-day, there was one point she did not allude to, and which she is most anxious Lord Granville should *not* misunderstand. It is that she looks on *him*, and on him *only*, as the real leader of the Liberal party, and on whosoever is chosen as leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons as under him.

Upon *this* head there *can* and *must* be no doubt.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

18 Carlton H. Terrace, 1*st Feb.* 1875.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is, as your Majesty must feel sure, deeply touched by the kindness of your two letters.

Mr. Forster's letter will appear in the newspapers to-morrow, and his friends will generally accept the leadership in the House of Commons of Lord Hartington, reserving to themselves the right of ventilating their individual opinions.

Lord Granville believes he has been of some little use in this matter, as he hopes he may be in the future, both as regards matters that concern your Majesty's comfort, and others that affect the Liberal party. He still, however, thinks that it will be better that, at a meeting comprised solely of M.P.'s, he should not be declared leader of the party.

The chief objection is removed by your Majesty's gracious letter.

Therefore although he hopes that no such resolution will be proposed, yet, if it is made and carried, he will do nothing to throw it over.[1]

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th February* 1875.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I have your letter of the 7th, which pressure of business prevented my answering earlier.[2]

The Queen is probably aware that the Channel Tunnel scheme is got up by private promoters. No assistance in the form of subsidy or otherwise is asked from the State. All that the promoters desire at present is leave to take land and make other necessary arrangements for preliminary experiments with a view to ascertain whether the undertaking is practicable. It is obvious that we cannot reasonably object to such investigations being made. To say—"We will have no closer intercourse with the Continent, and therefore all schemes for a tunnel shall be discouraged"—is a policy which neither the House of Commons nor the public would tolerate, and which I am sure her Majesty would not wish us to adopt.

On the other hand, we must take care to let the promoters, and those who may hereafter take shares, clearly understand that in giving permission and facilities for the work to go on, we do not in the slightest degree make ourselves responsible for either its engineering or financial success. And we have a right to see that the terms made on the other side of the water are not such as to give the French Government any undue control over the undertaking, or indeed any power over it beyond that which we on our side possess. So much for the question of general policy, which it has not been hitherto my duty to lay before the Queen, inasmuch as the promoters proceed by a private Bill, the consideration of which rests with the Board of Trade, and to some extent with the Treasury, rather than with this Department. I discussed the subject last year with the First Lord of the Treasury, and he entirely agreed as to the general course to be adopted. As to the eventual success of the work, it would be hazardous to prophesy, but leading engineers seem to think it practicable. If once opened, the advantage to travellers and to traffic generally would be so great that the promoters could hardly fail to make it pay.

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[1] No such resolution was passed at the meeting. Accordingly, for the rest of the Parliament, the leadership of the Liberal party as a whole remained in abeyance.

[2] The Queen had written from Osborne to Mr. Disraeli on 9th February: "She hopes that the Government will do nothing to encourage the proposed tunnel under the Channel, which she thinks very objectionable"; and General Ponsonby had, by her instructions, written in the same sense to Lord Derby.

As to the particular despatch referred to in your letter, it simply conveyed to Lord Lyons the views of the Board of Trade on certain details of the scheme, and was not submitted to her Majesty, partly as being of a departmental rather than a political character, and partly as originating with another department, of which this office was merely, or principally, the mouthpiece. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Queen Victoria to General Ponsonby.

OSBORNE [? 11*th Feb.* 1875].—The Queen considers this *very unsatisfactory*. Better say no more.

If England is to be connected with the Continent, we shall have to keep up double Army, which we so *unwillingly* afford now! Pray write something to that effect, for *that* is *the* objection and difficulty. . . .

Note by General Ponsonby:

Acted on the Queen's first suggestion to "Say no more."

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th March* 1875.—The Queen writes with a very heavy heart to Mr. Martin, who she knows will share her grief at the loss of a most valued, devoted, faithful, and discreet friend![1] To the Queen dear Sir A. Helps's loss is a grievous one. For the last thirteen years he has been most kind to her, and our communications were of a very confidential nature. He was so straightforward, had so much sympathy with the Queen, and rendered her on various occasions most valuable services. This is a heavy blow to the Queen, and a great loss to the public. . . . Poor Alice (to whom the Queen wrote at once) the Queen cannot think of without the deepest sorrow, for she was so devoted to her father. Lady Helps was there, and very attentive, Sir Wm. Jenner said.

The Queen is most anxious to see Mr. Martin and to hear all the particulars he knows, and to speak to him upon various subjects connected with our kind friend. Could he come to Buckingham Palace at quarter to one on Tuesday? It was through dear Sir Arthur that the Queen first became acquainted with Mr. Martin. She has had already many proofs of his devotion to her service; may she claim this now still more, as God has thought fit to withdraw a most helpful, valuable one, for whose great kindness she will remain for ever deeply grateful, and whose memory she will for ever cherish! To the Government and to the public, his loss will be *very great.*

The Queen is quite upset and shaken by this sad event.

The Prince Imperial to Queen Victoria.

CHISLEHURST, *le* 17 *Mars* 1875.

MADAME,—Que votre Majesté me permette de la remercier du fond du cœur, du gracieux envoi[2] qu'elle m'a fait et des quelques lignes qui l'accom-

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[1] Sir A. Helps died on 7th March.

[2] The first volume of the *Life of the Prince Consort.*

pagnaient ; rien ne pouvait avoir plus de prix à mes yeux. La vie si bien remplie du Prince offre de nombreux et précieux enseignements ; je la lirai avec soin, Madame, et je verrai comment on gagne l'estime et l'affection de tout un peuple.

Je profite de cette circonstance, pour remercier votre Majesté de toutes ses bontés pour moi ; elles m'ont valu l'honneur de faire mon éducation à l'Académie Royale Militaire et je ne l'oublierai jamais.

J'ai appris avec plaisir, que la santé de son Altesse Royale le Prince Léopold se raffermissait de jour en jour ; je fais des vœux sincères pour sa guérison.

Je prie votre Majesté de croire aux sentiments avec lesquels je me dis de votre Majesté le tout dévoué et respectueux Cousin, NAPOLÉON.

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 17*th March* 1875.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I can throw no light on the policy of the German Cabinet in warning us against Russia : beyond this—that what Germany most fears at this moment is anything like combination, or union, among foreign Powers. The German Government is singly stronger on land than any other ; but it is watched with great jealousy by Russia, Austria, and France ; and it is therefore the German game to prevent these, or any of them, uniting, and to create as much mutual distrust and suspicion as possible. If England and Russia can be put on bad terms with one another, Russia is so far weaker in Europe.

I am bound, however, to add that there seems to be at Berlin a stronger feeling against England—veiled, but yet very evident—than I can explain by any political calculations. I have often noticed it, and never more than two months ago, when there was all that foolish talk about the Empress of Russia's visit. The eagerness with which any story making against this country is caught up and repeated by the Berlin Press is not to me very intelligible. The policy

of the two Governments may not be identical, but it is not so divergent as to explain or account for the state of feeling I describe. I must admit that it completely puzzles me. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *23rd March* 1875.—After luncheon, saw, in the Corridor, the celebrated artist Angeli[1] of Vienna, who has come over on purpose to paint my portrait and those of Bertie, Alix, and some of their children, Louise, Lorne, and Beatrice. He is considered one of the best portrait painters of the day, is a regular "Wiener," and speaks the strongest "Wienerisch." He is youngish, agreeable, and clever.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 21*st April* 1875 (*Tuesday*, 3 *o'clock*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He gratefully thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's delightful present. He likes the primroses so much better for their being wild: they seem an offering from the fauns and dryads of the woods of Osborne; and camellias, blooming in the natural air, become your Majesty's Faery Isle.

He most deeply thanks your Majesty for permitting him to see your Majesty immediately on your Majesty's return. There is nothing, really, that he prizes more.

On Saturday the 24th he has what is called a Parliamentary Banquet, and H.R.H. Prince Christian honours it with his presence. To disperse them all now, would be almost as bad as a dissolution of Parliament, and an apparent slight to a Princely guest, whom he much respects.

Might he come down on Sunday?

He received your Majesty's letter about Lady Biddulph's wishes. He will write upon it, and some other things; but he has been in the House of Commons to-night ten hours, and is capable of nothing but offering your Majesty his real devotion and humble duty.

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[1] Died at Vienna, 21st October 1925, at the age of eighty-five.

23rd April.— . . . He trusts your Majesty will believe, may even deign to remember, how anxious Mr. Disraeli is, at all times, to meet your Majesty's personal wishes in the distribution of patronage. Were he your Majesty's Grand Vizier, instead of your Majesty's Prime Minister, he should be content to pass his remaining years in accomplishing everything your Majesty wished; but, alas! it is not so. . . .

House of Commons, *26th April.*— . . . Mr. Secretary Cross is very unwell. He has what is called the lumbago, and cannot move. Mr. Secretary Hardy has been absent several days, and has only escaped, if indeed he has escaped, a severe attack of jaundice. Lord John Manners, who would come down to the House, does not look like a living man; and Mr. Disraeli has absolutely dismissed him. He is to follow your Majesty to Balmoral, with an interval of three days. Mr. Hunt is here, but Mr. Disraeli never counts upon his health for four and twenty hours.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is quite well, and he is always a host, and your Majesty's Prime Minister, and humblest of correspondents, is full, fortunately, of energy and life; but as three of the Cabinet Ministers out of the six in the Commons are quite laid up, and two of them important Secretaries of State, he hopes your Majesty will not think him negligent, if, with the great pressure of affairs, he does not attend to all your Majesty's pleasure, as he would wish.

Queen Victoria to Frances Countess of Gainsborough.[1]

[*Copy.*] Windsor Castle, *27th April* 1875.

Dear Fanny,—I received your letter yesterday on the subject of Moody and Sankey, "the American

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[1] Widow of the 1st Earl, Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria.

Evangelists."[1] It would never do for *me* to go to a public place to hear them, or anything of that sort, nor, as you know, do I go to *any large public places now*.

But independently of that, though I am sure they are very good and sincere people, it is not the *sort* of religious performance which I like. This sensational style of excitement like the Revivals is not the religion which *can last*, and is not, I think, wholesome for the mind or heart, though there may be instances where it does good.

Eloquent, simple preaching, with plain practical teaching, seem to me far more likely to do *real* and *permanent* good, and this can surely be heard in all Protestant Churches, whether in the Established Church or amongst Dissenters, *if* the Ministers are thoroughly earnest. . . .—V. R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28*th April* 1875.—After breakfast the sad news came in a telegram from Louise, that our dear kind old friend[2] had breathed her last at 5 o'clock this morning. An irreparable loss to us all! I cannot realise or believe it! She seemed as though she would always remain with us, and never changed! She was wonderfully devoted to all our children, whom she loved as though they were her own, and also to me. Was much overcome and distressed. She was thirty-eight years with me, having been one of my Bedchamber Women at the time of my accession. She had had much sorrow, her husband, Captain Barrington, having died out of his mind, and having lost three children, when very young. After Lady Lyttelton resigned in 1850, Lady Caroline was appointed Lady Superintendent in her place, and no one could have filled the post better. She was clever and agreeable, and kindly, even tender to a degree, to both high and low.

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[1] Whose missionary visit to Great Britain at this time was exciting considerable public attention.

[2] Lady Caroline Barrington, daughter of the 2nd Earl Grey, and sister of General Grey, the Queen's Private Secretary, who died in 1870.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

Colonial Office, 29*th April* 1875.—Lord Carnarvon submits, with his humble duty to your Majesty, the accompanying draft of a despatch which, after consultation with his colleagues, he proposes to address by the next mail to Sir H. Barkly. Lord Carnarvon has reason to hope that the proposal which he now makes in this despatch to the Dutch States, to enter into this Conference,[1] may be accepted by them, and may lead to more satisfactory relations than those which have so long existed: but even in the event of their declining to take part, no difficulty or fresh inconvenience will be created. Your Majesty will be pleased to observe that the despatch has been so worded as to meet all contingencies; on the other hand, should they accept the invitation to join this Conference, Lord Carnarvon sees a strong probability of ultimately securing a Confederation of all the Colonies and States of South Africa, and of the reunion of these republics to your Majesty's possessions. If this can be achieved—with proper securities for the just treatment of the native races, which is a condition of paramount importance, but which Lord Carnarvon is inclined to believe to be practicable—the advantages gained will be in all respects very great, and much that is now in South Africa a cause of difficulty and even danger will, it may be hoped, be converted into a source of strength. Lord Carnarvon will only add that he has great confidence in the zeal and the judgment of Mr. Froude,[2] not less than in his well-known ability, whilst his personal relations with many of the leading politicians at the Cape, and the other Colonies, are such that many asperities and jealousies may be smoothed by his diplomacy. Lord Carnarvon trusts that he has your Majesty's approval in the measures which he now proposes to adopt, and which must be considered as a part of the general policy to be pursued in South Africa.

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[1] With a view to federation. See Introductory Note.

[2] The historian, who visited South Africa both in 1874 and in 1875 as Lord Carnarvon's personal representative.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

3rd May 1875.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully begs to return Lord Northbrook's letter.[1] He would venture to advise your Majesty to reply that you have directed telegrams to be sent to Lord Northbrook, in which your judgment of his policy is expressed, and your instructions conveyed as to the course to be taken in the difficult circumstances in which the Indian Government has been placed. It will possibly be agreeable to your Majesty's feelings, as it will certainly be consistent with the views of your Majesty's advisers, to express your deep regret that an Indian Prince should have so acted as to render necessary a policy of such great severity, and to impress on Lord Northbrook your pleasure that he should be treated with every indulgence consistent with public policy.

With reference to the Prince's visit,[2] Lord Salisbury would humbly suggest that it would not be consonant with your Majesty's dignity that the Viceroy should be permitted erroneously to infer from any unguarded expression of your Majesty's natural feelings, that the Prince of Wales was acting otherwise than in perfect conformity with your Majesty's will. At the same time it would not have otherwise than a salutary effect, if your Majesty were to express to the Viceroy both your natural apprehensions for his health, and your fear lest his Royal Highness's great kindliness of disposition should lead him to treat with too gracious a manner persons not deserving of such a treatment. Lord Salisbury wishes respectfully to add that, according to his intelligence, his Royal Highness's visit is looked forward to in all parts of India with great enthusiasm.

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[1] About the deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda. See Introductory Note.

[2] The proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

5th May 1875.— . . . From the reports in former despatches of M. Nothomb's[1] conversations, he would appear to be something of an alarmist, and much under the influence of Prince Bismarck. For these tendencies some allowance must be made, in estimating the value of his intelligence.

The telegram states, first, that, in the opinion of Prince Bismarck, Belgium can only trust to herself for the maintenance of her neutrality. This clearly means, that Belgium is likely to be invaded or occupied by France : an impression which Prince Bismarck has for a long while past been endeavouring to produce. It is difficult to think that he can be sincere. No French Government would be insane enough to put itself in the wrong in the eyes of all Europe, at a moment when it is of supreme importance to France to obtain European support against an enemy more powerful than herself. The Prince must see the position of things as clearly as anyone ; and the inference to be drawn is that, in exciting suspicion of French designs, he is trying to justify beforehand an invasion of Belgium by German forces, in the event of a war, as being a necessary measure of precaution against anticipated danger.

The second statement of the telegram is, that the great Powers, and especially England, ought not to have allowed France to raise her army to its present force. It is impossible to treat this statement seriously. The French army, with all the additions made or contemplated to it, will remain considerably weaker than that of Germany ; and it is notorious that, whatever they may think possible in the future, no French statesman dreams of making war on Germany single-handed, or at an early date. The pretension that for France to repair her losses and recover her strength is unjustifiable and dangerous, because it would be more convenient to German interests that she should remain enfeebled, is one which cannot be supported in argument, or reconciled to ordinary ideas of justice.

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[1] Belgian Minister in Berlin.

The truth seems to be that neither Prince Bismarck nor any other German statesman foresaw the singular rapidity with which France would recover from the blows of 1870–71. The wonderful energy and elasticity of the national spirit has caused the work of a generation to be done in a few years; and it is believed by competent observers that the material losses of the war have been already all but retrieved. French parties, moreover, are becoming less violent; and the Government appears to be settling itself on a firmer footing.

All these things have disquieted Prince Bismarck; and impressed him, apparently, with the idea that his work is only half done.

The language which he and his agents have been holding all over Europe is, substantially, to the effect that, if France attempts to reassert her position as a great Power, she must be attacked, and crushed. The Count von Moltke is understood openly and publicly to hold this language.

Lord Derby does not conceal from himself that the prevalence of these ideas, if they do prevail in Germany, constitutes a serious danger to Europe. Moral force goes for much in these days, and the sympathy of nations is always with the attacked party. In the last war, France was the aggressor, and the opinion of Europe went with Germany. If the parts are now to be reversed: if France is to be attacked without provocation, merely in order that she may not have an opportunity of making herself troublesome hereafter, there will be in all countries, and in no country more strongly than in England, a protest against the abuse of force, and a common jealousy, inspired by the sense of a common danger.

Prince Bismarck.

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Lord Derby has had several conversations with Count Münster, and has always tried to combat the notion that the present armaments of France are excessive and dangerous. He does not expect to succeed, because he believes the alarm expressed to be simulated and not real.

It appears to be beyond a doubt that the reconciliation of Austria and Italy has excited great irritation at Berlin; probably as indicating a determination on the part of both these Governments not to be dragged, if they can help it, into any fresh quarrels.

The last sentence of the telegram refers to the visit of the Czar at Berlin; from which Lord Derby expects good results. It is not the interest or the policy of Russia that a fresh war should be made, nor that France should be destroyed. The Russian tendency must naturally be in favour of peace; and if language in that sense is held in a friendly, and at the same time firm, tone, the effect must be considerable.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Buckingham Palace, *6th May* 1875.—Saw Mr. Disraeli and talked about the very alarming rumours from Germany, as to war. This began by dictatorial and offensive language to Belgium, then by reports of the Germans saying they must attack the French, as these threatened to attack them, and a war of revenge was imminent, which the increase in their armaments proved. I said this was *intolerable*, that France could not for years make war, and that I thought we ought, in concert with the other Powers, to hold the strongest language to both Powers, declaring they *must not* fight, for that *Europe* would *not* stand another war! In fact, as Mr. Disraeli said, Bismarck is becoming like the first Napoleon, against whom all Europe had to ally itself. Mr. Disraeli was for an alliance with Russia, as we know the Emperor Alexander's pacific feelings, and I urged *with* Austria and even Italy, who is now on the best terms with Austria. Mr. Disraeli will see Lord Derby and lose no time about it.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, *7th May* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has seen Lord Derby, who had reflected much over the situation.

He agrees with your Majesty, that the affair must be arranged by Odo: quite equal to it, while it would be almost impossible to expect that Lord Cowley could go off at a moment's notice. His presence too would excite suspicion.

The difficulty of immediate action arises, according to Lord Derby, from not first seeing Schouvaloff,[1] hourly expected. There is much in that objection; but Mr. Disraeli observed that time is, in all affairs, everything; that the Emperors probably meet on Monday; and may be dispersed in eight and forty hours.

Finally we agreed to telegraph to Odo, calling his attention to the critical situation and the choice opportunity; that he should feel his way with the Emperor of Russia, as to the desirability of some common understanding to secure the peace of Europe; and that the moment we have seen Schouvaloff we would telegraph again more precisely.

Lord Derby thought a letter of your Majesty to the Emperor of Germany would do good: Mr. Disraeli suggested "Emperor of Russia." Lord Derby hesitated, but would think of it. Mr. Disraeli did not hesitate, as he has trust in your Majesty, and your personal influence, in all things.

Your Majesty must pardon this rough letter, written on the field of battle. Everyone, all sides, talking of the discomfiture of Mr. Gladstone by his former pupil.[1]

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[1] Russian Ambassador in London, who was just returning to his post from St. Petersburg, and had travelled *via* Berlin.

10 Downing Street, *8th May.*— . . . Lord Derby has not yet seen Count Schouvaloff. Lord Derby does not think he ought to seek an interview, and Mr. Disraeli agrees with him in that. He, however, hears from other sources very satisfactory accounts of the temper and intentions of the Emperor of Russia, who is said to have expressed his determination to prevent war, if it brings him even to a misunderstanding with Germany: and that Austria entirely agrees with him in this matter.

We propose to send the enclosed telegram to Lord Odo; and other instructions may follow if justified and necessary.

It is indeed extremely difficult to meet the circumstances without a personal interview with Count Schouvaloff.

At this moment, any personal appeal from your Majesty would seem to be hardly required.

Mr. Disraeli will continue to watch affairs, and will have the honour of waiting on your Majesty to-morrow at 3 o'clock, if required.

[Enclosure.]

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

[*Draft Telegram.*]

Foreign Office, *9th May* 1875, 2.10 *a.m.*—Her Majesty's Government have observed with regret the general apprehension which prevails of a disturbance of European peace. The French *Chargé d'Affaires* has expressed much uneasiness on the subject of a possible attack, either now or at no distant future, from Germany, the alleged provocation being the rapidity with which the reorganisation of the French Army is proceeding. The German Government is believed to regard these military preparations on the part of France as indicating a design of making war for the recovery of the lost provinces.

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[1] Mr. Gladstone made an unsuccessful attack on the budget of Sir Stafford Northcote, who had formerly been his private secretary.

Her Majesty's Government are convinced that no such design is entertained by the Government of France, and that such apprehensions, if really felt, are unfounded.

Her Majesty's Government earnestly desire the maintenance of peace and instruct you hereby to use all means in your power to put an end to the misunderstanding which has arisen.

It is believed that the Emperor of Russia will speak in the same sense during his visit to Berlin. Should his Imperial Majesty do so, you will strongly support his efforts for the preservation of peace.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

[*Draft.*] 9*th May* 1875.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen is pleased with the tenor of this despatch to Lord O. Russell, but commands me to observe that it is scarcely correct to assume that no such design as making war for the recovery of the lost provinces is entertained by France, for though no such intention is dreamt of at present, the Queen is sure that the wish exists in almost every Frenchman's heart, and that the Germans know this better than we do.

Her Majesty therefore thinks that, while remonstrating with Germany, it becomes our duty also to warn France against aggressive movements.

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

Private. FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th May* 1875.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I saw Schouvaloff yesterday. He said the Emperor of Russia was prepared to speak very decidedly at Berlin, on the subject of peace, and that the Austrian Government would hold the same language. I therefore consider the danger of war is over; that is, for the present: and as long as the Russian policy continues the same.

From what Schouvaloff told me it is clear that Bismarck has been warning the Russians against us, and us against them : so that an understanding might be impossible.

That little game has failed.

Schouvaloff seemed to think that Bismarck was in a morbid state of mind. He (B.) complained to him that he could not sleep : spoke much of his health : talked of the absolute necessity of his resigning, and in the same breath spoke of things which he meant to do as Minister some months hence : he appeared to think that all Europe was inclined to coalesce against Germany : and was also much haunted by the idea of assassination.

In short, the impression left on the mind of his hearer was that fatigue, anxiety, and other causes, had produced in him a state of nervous excitement which may explain many of his recent sayings and doings. He (B.) said himself that his doctor had warned him that if he went on with public affairs he was "*un homme fini*" : could not last above a year or two ; but that if he rested now for a considerable time, he might return to business later, and live to be an old man.

Schouvaloff added that the Empress had spoken to him of the gradual weakening of the Emperor, and as a consequence of his being completely in Bismarck's hands : believing all that he was told by B. and not much that he was told by anyone else. The Emperor seemed quite unconscious of any alarm being created by the attitude of Germany ; and did not appear to understand what was meant when Schouvaloff referred to it.

Schouvaloff described the language of the military party, and of the officials at Berlin, exactly as it is described by Odo Russell. "We must attack before we are attacked" was the one idea in their minds.

He appeared to entertain no doubt but that the language of Russia would be effectual for its purpose.

I have mentioned these things, as they may possibly interest her Majesty. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Queen Victoria to the Emperor of Russia.

[*Copie.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 10 *Mai* 1875.

MON TRÈS CHER FRÈRE,—Je prends l'occasion de votre arrivée à Berlin pour vous donner des nouvelles de Marie et de notre cher petit-fils, et en même temps m'informer de votre santé. J'ai vu Marie vendredi, dans sa maison à Londres, où elle paraît très contente, et je lui trouve bien bonne mine. Le petit est fort et gai, et toujours de bonne humeur. Je me réjouis de penser que vous aurez dans peu le bonheur de les voir et de les posséder pendant quelque temps.

Je ne puis terminer cette lettre sans vous exprimer la ferme espérance que vous userez de votre grande influence pour essayer de maintenir la paix, et de dissiper l'alarme profonde que le langage tenu à Berlin a excitée dans toute l'Europe.

Tout prouve que les Français ne méditent pas, et ne peuvent méditer, une nouvelle guerre, et il serait coupable à l'Allemagne de la commencer sans provocation. Vous êtes, cher Frère, si disposé à la paix, et le cher Empereur Guillaume y serait lui-même si porté, que j'espère que nos représentations à tous arriveront à temps pour prévenir une si terrible calamité.

Cette époque-ci me rappelle votre visite de l'année dernière, et tout le plaisir que j'ai eu à vous voir. Je me dis pour toujours, mon cher Frère, votre bien affectionnée bonne Sœur, VICTORIA R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th* *May* 1875.—Saw Mr. Disraeli. We both rejoiced at the very satisfactory accounts received yesterday from Berlin, from Lord Odo Russell. The meeting of Prince Bismarck with Count Gortchakoff and the Emperor of Russia had been all that could be desired, so much so, that no further assurances were to be asked for, they having been given quite spontaneously. I then said France must now be told that, having done our best to prevent any attack on her, she must be equally ready to cause no complaints by threats of revenge.

Got a telegram from Lord O. Russell, saying the Emperor Alexander thanked me for my letter, which he would answer from Ems, that he was quite satisfied with the assurances that had been given of maintaining peace.

Queen Victoria to Lord Northbrook.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 17*th May* 1875.—The Queen has to thank the Viceroy for five letters with very interesting enclosures of the 5th and 12th of February, 25th of March, 8th and 22nd of April.

She would have wished to answer sooner, especially the one of April 8th, but had no time.

She had, however, directed telegrams to be sent [in] which her judgment on the Viceroy's policy was expressed, and her instructions conveyed as to the course to be taken in the very difficult circumstances in which the Indian Government had been placed. It has been a matter of deep regret to the Queen that the conduct of an Indian Prince should render necessary a policy of such great severity, and she urges strongly on the Viceroy her earnest wish that the Gaekwar should be treated with every indulgence consistent with public policy. It must have been a very anxious time for Lord Northbrook.

The Queen wishes now to say a few words with respect to the Prince of Wales's visit to India. While acknowledging the good which might and possibly may result in such a visit (should it take place) to her Indian Empire, the Queen gave a very unwilling consent to it when first consulted by the Prince of Wales and she had expected it would have been *very carefully considered* and weighed in the Cabinet before being announced to the Viceroy. The Queen has therefore much regretted its somewhat premature announcement in India, for she looks with much anxiety and apprehension to so long and distant a voyage, and so long an absence of the Heir to the throne, who moreover is no longer in that robust health which he enjoyed before his terrible illness in 1871. Nor can he bear much exercise or great fatigue (though he unfortunately takes little care of himself) with impunity.

The Queen has wished the Viceroy to know her *real* feelings and views on this subject, which she thinks has been rather too much precipitated; and she would be glad to hear *his impartial* opinion upon it.

She concludes with kind remembrance to his daughter, and good wishes for his health.

She is sorry to hear that the trade in those unrivalled shawls[1] is not at present progressing. The Queen will receive with much interest the new one which he mentions.

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

EMS, *ce* 6/18 *Mai* 1875.

MA TRÈS CHÈRE SŒUR,—Je vous remercie bien sincèrement de votre lettre si amicale, reçue à Berlin, et des nouvelles que vous me donnez de ma fille et de notre cher petit-fils, dont je suis si impatient de faire la connaissance. Personne ne comprendra mieux que vous combien je me réjouis de les revoir bientôt chez nous. Ma santé, à laquelle vous voulez bien vous intéresser, se remet de jour en jour, et j'espère que la cure d'Ems fera disparaître bientôt les derniers restes de mon catarrhe.

Je suis heureux de pouvoir vous certifier que j'ai emporté, de Berlin, les assurances les plus positives pour le maintien de la paix. Mon rôle n'a pas été du reste très difficile, car j'ai trouvé l'Empereur Guillaume, ainsi que son Chancelier, parfaitement décidé à ne rien entreprendre contre la France, sachant qu'elle de son côté n'est pas en état de songer sérieusement à une revanche encore pour bien des années. Quant aux rapports avec l'Autriche, ils ne laissent rien à désirer, et je puis en dire autant pour ce qui nous regarde. Nous pouvons donc espérer que l'alarme répandue par les bruits d'une nouvelle guerre ne tardera pas à se calmer, tout le monde ayant besoin de la paix.

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[1] The Queen was in the habit of giving a Cashmere shawl as a wedding present to a bride whom she knew personally or in whom she was interested.

Je ne puis terminer cette lettre sans vous exprimer combien j'aime à me reporter à cette époque, l'année passée, où j'eus le plaisir de vous revoir après 35 ans et être témoin de votre affection maternelle pour ma fille chérie. J'espère qu'elle saura toujours se rendre digne de vos bontés et que la bénédiction divine continuera à reposer sur nos chers enfants. Je me dis pour toujours, ma chère Sœur, votre bien affectionné bon frère, ALEXANDRE.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 18*th May* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's gracious letter of the 15th, and for all your kindness.

He congratulates your Majesty on your Majesty's "prosperous and rapid journey." Rapidity is certainly an element of happiness: at least Dr. Johnson thought so, when, posting at the rate of ten miles an hour, he said to Boswell, "Sir, life has few pleasures like this!" What would the great sage say, if he had lived in an age when his Sovereign in eight and forty hours could reach those Highlands which it took him many long weeks to arrive at? . . .

Mr. Disraeli is happy that your Majesty finds Scotland looking unusually beautiful in this season, and he heartily trusts that the breezes of the Dee will entirely restore your Majesty's health.

It was kind of your Majesty hoping that he, also, was enjoying some country air. He took refuge in home, where he is quite alone, but has enough to employ him. He is not surrounded by so romantic a view as your Majesty. Instead of the foaming Dee, he has a very modest trout stream, and beech woods instead of pine forests. But the scene is beautiful, as, in such weather, and in such a season, every place must be. It is a blaze of bloom and blossom: cuckoos in every clump, with the responsive roundelays of wood-pigeons.

With humble duty:

He always forgets to report to your Majesty, that, in compliance with your Majesty's wish, a Bill to protect the young seals, of late so horribly massacred, was brought in at the commencement of the session, and Mr. Disraeli believes has now passed both Houses.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 24*th May*.—On this day, the writer withdraws for a moment, from the heat of party conflict, to breathe a wish, that this new year in your Majesty's existence may be serene; and though, when he remembers all your Majesty's trials, and all your sorrows, he will not speak of happiness, he trusts that you will be sustained by the recollection, that you live in the hearts and thoughts of many millions, though in none more deeply, and more fervently, than in the heart of him, who, with humble duty, pens these spontaneous lines.

The German Crown Prince to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

VENICE, 24*th May* 1875.— . . . When I passed from Italy through the South of Germany on the 6th May, I found a state of anxious suspense prevailing everywhere, because people fancied they discovered, in the language of several organs of the Berlin Press, the proof of Germany's warlike intentions against France. At Berlin I made no secret of this impression and asserted that this prevailing notion had a great deal to do with my visiting King Victor Emmanuel at Naples.

On all sides considerable surprise was expressed at our thus suddenly acquiring the reputation of disturbers of the peace, as no one here thought of such a thing, and Bismarck, above all others, with just indignation protested against the idea which was attributed to him, viz. of wishing to attack France, before she had completed her warlike preparations, in order to prevent her from ever recovering again. None, however, felt stronger indignation than my father, who abhors every thought of seeing the peace disturbed, and who could not conceive, in what way, and by what means, we could have got such a *renommée*.

I am afraid we shall never accurately find out, who is in reality to be blamed for getting up these alarming rumours. But I could not help observing that perhaps our Chancellor himself, from his state of nervous irritation, might sometimes be induced to utter remarks, which are liable to be misconstrued and are often interpreted as meaning more than they were originally intended to mean.

Moreover, it cannot be denied, that in our military circles there may be found several hot-heads, who do not conceal their individual longing for war, and therefore suggest a resumption of hostilities against the still enfeebled foe as a measure of political wisdom. Thank God, however, these persons are not possessed of supreme power, and, though some of them may enjoy a certain amount of authority, yet my father will always represent a policy of common sense and moderation. Let us hope that our *Chauvinistes* will profit from this experience, and become more guarded in their utterances; and also that those who are responsible for inspiring the Press will take a lesson from the crisis through which we have just passed!

The political situation was favourably affected by the visit of the Emperor Alexander; but Prince Gortchakoff, who is but too fond of appearing in the rôle of angel of peace, had no occasion to act in that capacity *this* time, because long before the Russian guests arrived everything had been rendered straight and smooth.

My stay in Italy, especially my visiting at Naples King Victor Emmanuel, who invariably treats me with much friendship and confidence, and also our joining the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Italy, have not failed to produce a reassuring effect, and this effect was happily strengthened and improved by our repeated meetings with the King's Minister, Minghetti.

Thus I hope to see peace ensured for a long time to come, whilst the combat with the Ultramontane clergy of Prussia is in full blaze. Our Government, however, are convinced, that by passing the Bill for the suppression of convents, the chief bulwark of the State will be established, and they trust that after this the agitated minds will calm down.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

BABELSBERG, *3rd June* 1875.— . . . I have just been reading the speech which Lord Derby made in Parliament with reference to the *warlike rumours* recently got up by controversial newspaper articles. I trust that with that speech we shall have done with these rumours, I hope for ever!

There is, however, an indication in that speech, that your Government actually *believed* in the temporary existence of a plan, on our part, of either declaring war ourselves, or of provoking its declaration. Noticing this belief, I feel bound to write to you, in order to discuss a subject of considerable importance and weight.

I was deeply touched by your gracious intention to act as *mediator* in a possible conflict between us and France, and when Lord Derby, in your name, conveyed this message to Lord Odo Russell, it was to me a new proof of your blessed tendency to preserve the peace of Europe.

But this very message also convinced me, that those rumours, which attributed to me the wish to break the peace of Europe, had taken root in your mind and that of your Ministers. The reply given at the time by my Government was of such a positive nature that I might reasonably expect your apprehensions to be thereby radically removed. I was, therefore, certainly surprised to learn from Lord Derby's speech that this was not at all the case, and that he felt obliged to refer to, what he calls, utterances of persons in high position at my Court, which seemed to be capable of being taken as menacing provocations. This reference can only apply to Field-Marshal Count *Moltke.*

Supposing him to have made the remark (which, however, never reached *my* ears) that one had better *anticipate* a warlike *attack* of France; this would be nothing more than, in a general way, a reference to a universally accepted axiom, applicable in private cases as well as in larger combinations. But such an occasional and lightly made remark would not be uttered seriously by one who thereby might provoke a European war, or, at the least, a limited conflict between two countries. I cannot think anybody capable of such a thing, and least of all Count Moltke, so that I attribute no value whatever to quotations of this description.

If one State was to act on the principle of anticipating an attack by means of forcing the antagonist into a declaration of war, such State would never succeed in securing *Allies*, as it must needs place itself in the wrong by such provocation, and it would *not even* find "*benevolent neutrality*," indeed, *no neutrality at all*, but only enemies on all sides!

Acting on this political programme of Peace, I trust I shall not plunge Germany into war; this is so clear that I need not add one single word! It is quite another question, whether France (as at this moment her *Ministers* try to do) will control her desire for *revanche*, after she has once more obtained a well-disciplined and a well-organised Army; I do *not* believe that France—I mean the people as well as the Government—will then adopt my programme of peace!

I think I may reasonably hope that by thus plainly stating my convictions I shall have freed you from all apprehension as to whether I had ever thought of having warlike intentions set afloat, or entertained such ideas myself.

When I read those first articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and in the Berlin *Post*, I thought them nothing more than empty phrases, until the foreign Press began to exaggerate them into a *cause célèbre*, and *The Times* had an article[1] written, which so lamentably overstepped all bounds, even of what was within the province of possibility; this was *very much* to be regretted, considering the position and the enormous circulation of this paper!

Now the editors of such papers may reflect upon the immense harm they have done to the whole of Europe by their mendacious fabrications. . . . —WILHELM.

Queen Victoria to the German Crown Princess.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 8*th June* 1875.

DARLING CHILD,—I have just received your dear long letter[2] with the enclosure which I have not had time to read properly, but I wish just to answer those principal points in your letter, though of course you know *how* absurd these ideas and notions of Bismarck's are.

First, as regards my being irritated against Germany, or *anybody else* working upon me! It was I ALONE who on hearing from ALL sides from our Ministers abroad of the danger of war, told my Ministers that *everything* MUST be done to *prevent* it, that it was too intolerable that a *war* should be *got up* and brought about by *mutual* reports between Germany and France, that each intended to *attack* the *other*, that we must prevent this and join with other Powers in strong remonstrances and warnings as it was *not* to be *tolerated*. No one wishes more, as you know, than I do for England and Germany to go well together; but Bismarck is so overbearing, violent, grasping and unprincipled that *no one* can stand it, and *all* agreed that he was becoming like the first Napoleon whom Europe had to join in PUTTING down. This was the feeling, and we were determined to prevent another war. At the same time I said France must be told she must give *no* cause of anger or suspicion to Germany, and must *not* let them have any pretext to attack her. France will for many years be quite incapable of going to war and is terrified at the idea of it; I *know* this to be a fact. The Duc Decazes[1] is a sensible prudent man, fully aware of this, and who is doing all he can to act according to this advice.

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[1] This was a despatch from M. de Blowitz, the famous Paris correspondent of *The Times*, which revealed what was going on behind the scenes.

[2] The main portion of this letter from the Crown Princess appears in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 11.

I wrote at that moment a private letter to the Emperor Alexander urging him to *do* all he could in a pacific sense at Berlin, knowing the anxiety he had to prevent war, and how much he loved his Uncle, and he him.

As for anyone working upon me in the sense Bismarck thinks, it is too absurd. I am not worked upon by anyone; and though I am very intimate with the dear Empress,[2] her letters hardly ever contain any allusion to politics, certainly never anything which could be turned against her or me, and she sends her letters either by messenger or in indirect ways, and I mine the same.

You know *how I* dislike political letters and politics in *general*, and therefore that it is not *very likely* that *I* should write to her on them! and the Empress Eugénie I only see once or twice a year and she never writes to me!! and never speaks politics to me. So then you see what nonsense that is!

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[1] The French Foreign Minister.

[2] The German Empress Augusta.

As for Bertie's journey to India, it is an old wish of his and *quite* against *my desire*, and we are not alarmed about India. I have written this rather hurriedly, but I wished you should at once know the truth; and I am particularly anxious that the dear Empress, already so shamefully abused and so unkindly treated, should not be suspected of *what* she *never* does.

But Bismarck is a terrible man, and he makes Germany greatly disliked; indeed *no one* will stand the overbearing insolent way in which he acts and treats other nations, Belgium for instance.

You know that the Prussians are not popular unfortunately, and *no one* will tolerate any Power wishing to dictate to all Europe. This country, with the greatest wish to go hand in hand with Germany, cannot and WILL *not stand it.*

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

[*Draft.*] BALMORAL, 11*th June* 1875.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—I am commanded by the Queen to send you the enclosed translation of a letter which her Majesty has received from the Emperor of Germany.[1]

He had telegraphed to congratulate her Majesty on her birthday, and she had thanked him in affectionate terms. The Emperor now writes to return his thanks for *that telegram*, evidently taking this opportunity to express his opinion upon the recent transactions. Her Majesty observes that in this letter he denounces the principle of anticipating an attack by means of forcing the antagonist into a declaration of war, and further maintains that his political programme is that of peace.

The Queen thinks that some advantage should be taken of these admissions or assertions in her reply.

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[1] The letter of 3rd June, printed above, pp. 402–404.

Her Majesty wishes you to advise her on the answer she should return to the Emperor, and would be glad if you would send her the draft of a letter she might write.

Will you have the kindness to return to me the enclosure? Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 14*th June* 1875.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—Your letter of the 11th reached me yesterday, and I return as desired the translation of the Emperor of Germany's letter.

This very interesting document makes it clear that the Emperor is not allowed to know what is being said or done in his name.

As her Majesty is aware, the language which in this letter is treated as never having been seriously held by anyone representing the German Government, was held on more than one occasion by Count Münster to me, and by M. Bülow to the French Ambassador at Berlin, whose version of it I saw in a despatch which he sent to his own Government, and it tallied exactly with what Count Münster had said here. The semi-official Press, moreover, which is notoriously and (one may add, almost avowedly) inspired by Prince Bismarck, adopted the same line of argument. It is really imposing on our supposed credulity to tell us now that our ears have deceived us, and that nothing was said or meant against France.

No one in Europe can doubt the perfect sincerity of the Emperor, and the only conclusion to which it is possible to come is that he is not allowed to hear what really passes.

I have endeavoured to frame a draft answer such as her Majesty might adopt, at least in substance, but I have purposely made it brief. The Queen cannot, I think, allow a statement to pass without notice which ascribes to her and to this country a causeless apprehension; but I have tried to touch as lightly as possible on that part of the question, as it can serve no purpose to discuss it in detail.

I do not feel at all sure that we have done with Prince Bismarck, even for this year.

Mr. Lumley,[1] who is in London, tells me that the Belgian Ministers are not easy in their minds; and that in some of the late riots between Catholics and Liberals, German agents—or at least Germans with no obvious interest of their own in the matter—were found actively employed in stirring up the mob.

I enclose the draft herewith, and beg you to submit it for her Majesty's consideration. If not approved I can easily write another, and the delay of two or three days is not important where no action is to be taken. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.

[*Draft in Lord Derby's handwriting.*]

[*Undated.*]—I have read with pleasure your cordial and friendly letter of the 3rd, and sincerely rejoice to find that my anxious desire for the preservation of peace has not been misinterpreted or misunderstood by you. That Europe should be afflicted with a needless war would under any circumstances be bad enough, but you will easily understand that to me it would be doubly painful if so great a calamity had been wantonly brought about by any act or word of the German Government. I rejoice to read the expressions in which you condemn the notion of attacking the French, or any other people, merely on the suspicion of their meditating hostilities in their turn should an opportunity occur. Such a line of policy might be momentarily successful, but it would provoke the general and just indignation of Europe, and, as you say, leave the State which adopted it without allies or sympathisers.

The alarm is over, dissipated by the thoroughly satisfactory assurances which your Ministers have been authorised to give; and it would serve no good purpose now to explain why or how it came about that the view taken here of the political situation was more serious than you think the circumstances justified. I must, however, just observe that it was not an "occasional and lightly made remark," even coming from so eminent a person as Count Moltke, that caused the apprehension felt by my Ministers, and in which I personally shared. Expressions similar to that ascribed to Count Moltke have been used on many occasions, and in many places, by persons authorised by their position to speak as representatives of your Government. If, as from your letter I do not for a moment doubt, you are not fully aware of the extent to which such language has been held, you may naturally consider our apprehensions exaggerated, but it would not be difficult for me to show that this was not the case, if any good purpose could be served by going back upon a question which is now happily disposed of.

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[1] British Minister in Brussels.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 15*th June* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He has the honour to return the copy of the German letter,[1] with a sense of grateful obligation to your Majesty for permitting him to read it. He has also this morning had the advantage of perusing the letter of the Emperor, and your Majesty's reply.

Mr. Disraeli draws from these various documents, the inference, that your Majesty's influence in Europe is, at this moment, considerable ; and that it should be the unceasing effort of the Secretary of State and myself, aided by your Majesty's judgment and experience, to strengthen and consolidate it.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] Ems, 23*rd June* 1875.

Dearest Sister,—Yesterday I received your friendly letter of the 20th inst., in reply to mine, and

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[1] Presumably that from the Queen to the Crown Princess, p. 404.

I thank you heartily for its satisfactory contents. Your communication that the report that we intended to commence a war had found credence with you and your Government by observations of persons of influence about me—such as Field-Marshal Count Moltke—of which I myself might not be aware, is a matter of great interest, even of importance, to me. Your supposition of my having been ignorant is certainly true. As you mention, however, no names, and say it is unnecessary to go back to what is past, your communication will serve to make me more watchful and to preach prudence on every side.—WILHELM.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28*th June* 1875.—Rainy morning, but we went down all the same to Frogmore, and breakfasted in the Garden Cottage. We noticed an immense number of little frogs, hardly bigger than a bluebottle fly, hopping and crawling all over the grass and paths, which seemed to increase. I observed it first, yesterday, but much more to-day, and especially near the Cottage—quite disgusting. Sat there reading and writing. Held a Council after luncheon, before which I received the Marquis d'Harcourt, the new French Ambassador, whose mother was English, and to whose brother St. Leonard's, near here, belonged. I had not seen the Marquis for twenty-three years. He married the daughter of M. de Saint-Aulaire. Tea at Frogmore, where the frogs were quite dreadful, making the grass look as if it were alive! The paths had to be swept over and over again.

2*nd July*.—Breakfast as yesterday in the Colonnade at Frogmore. At about twelve, while I was writing, the celebrated Mr. [Frank] Buckland, son of his still more celebrated father,[1] a great naturalist, came up to the Cottage, having been round the grounds with Jones, to examine about the frogs. He said it was very curious, resembling a plague of locusts, crickets, and occasionally other insects, that frogs had come from all parts to breed in my "beautiful piece of water"; that the season had probably favoured this, and that the absence of ducks had let the spawn come to maturity. They would probably now disperse all over the country, and be very useful in destroying grubs, etc. At the spawning time, the eggs ought to be collected and put away, and the old frogs and toads destroyed, though a few were very valuable.

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[1] Dr. Buckland, Dean of Westminster.

Sir Thomas Biddulph to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st *July* 1875.

DEAR MR. DISRAELI,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge your letter of the 29th ult., and to express her Majesty's satisfaction at the favourable reception of the measures proposed by the Government for regulating the Labour Laws.

The Queen also desires me to write with reference to the prospectus of the Metropolitan Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Association, of which you suggest that her Majesty might become Patron.

The Queen is most desirous to express her interest generally in any project for the improvement of the dwellings of the labouring class, and rejoices to find that the Association in question has received so large an amount of support. But with regard to becoming Patron her Majesty feels a difficulty, in consequence of its being a Joint Stock Company. The Queen has invariably refused to lend her name to any financial undertaking, as by doing so her Majesty feels that she not only expresses her approval of the object immediately in view, but also connects herself with the future management of the financial affairs of the Society.

The Queen therefore would wish to abstain from becoming Patron, but is quite willing to signify her interest in the improvement of labourers' dwellings. I am, etc., T. M. BIDDULPH.

The Earl of Carnarvon to General Ponsonby.

C.O., *5th July* 1875.

Dear General Ponsonby,—President Burgers[1] has returned to England, and it has occurred to me that it might not be unacceptable or inconvenient to the Queen, if I were to bring him to Windsor this week, before her Majesty's departure for Osborne, to be presented. The Queen some time since said that she would be ready to allow me to present him; and he is at this moment so very important a person in S. Africa, and apparently disposed to act with so much loyalty, that more than usual trouble is worth taking.

I will, however, leave the whole matter in your hands, only begging you to send me a telegram. . . . I have, of course, said nothing to President Burgers. Yours very truly, Carnarvon.

Note by General Ponsonby:

The Queen said she would receive him here on Thursday, the 8th of July. But he was suddenly taken so ill that he was unable to come.

The Earl of Carnarvon to General Ponsonby.

Colonial Office, 16*th July* 1875.

Dear General Ponsonby,—I forward with this the copy of Sir H. Barkly's despatch in answer to my Confederation despatch enclosing a Minute from his Ministers, and my reply. I am anxious that the Queen should see them, and I hope that her Majesty will approve of the tone and character of my answer.

The opposition to my policy by the Cape Ministers and the House of Assembly has been serious, and the difficulties with which I have had to deal during the last few weeks have been unusually formidable; but I have no doubt as to the propriety of the course pursued, and not only do I think that these difficulties will be surmounted, but I entertain the hope that even the Cape Government and Parliament will come entirely round to my view of the case. The opposition springs in a great measure from personal and local jealousies, and has been conducted with so much warmth and intemperance of language that it will, I think, produce a reaction in my favour. That that reaction has even now begun I hope may be gathered from the telegram which I have within the last few hours received in cypher from Mr. Froude, and which I enclose.

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[1] President of the Transvaal Republic.

The question of Confederation is one which recommends itself on so many grounds, and embraces so many interests, that I think it is likely when once before the country to subdue the small sectional jealousies which now stand in the way, and ultimately, as I hope, bring into union the two Dutch States whom we ought never to have lost, and whom I believe it is still possible to restore to the Crown.

I have been in very intimate communication with President Burgers, whom I still hope I may be allowed to present to the Queen later when it is convenient to her Majesty, and when he is re-established in health; and I have great hopes that through him much may be done in this desirable direction. His personal influence in the Transvaal State has hitherto been very great—almost without rival. . . .

Believe me, dear General Ponsonby, yours very truly, CARNARVON.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 17*th July* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's most gracious letter. Your Majesty's constant kindness entirely supports and inspirits him—and is the only reward he ever cares to possess.

He thinks, that a great, and beneficial, change has taken place in the opinion of society respecting the Indian visit, since the debate in the House of Commons. The true character of the enterprise is more understood. The idea of a Royal progress has disappeared. It is only to be regretted, that the earlier proceedings had not been a little more definite, and much confusion, and some unpleasant feeling, might have been avoided.

Your Majesty's Government goes on well, with increasing majorities, and carrying all their Bills.

Mr. Secretary Cross will attend your Majesty to-day. He has done well: a most valuable Minister; laborious and acute; straightforward and truthful. He has carried his "Labour Laws" triumphantly: they will greatly content the mass of the people; and reduce the materials for social agitation.

Sir George Elliot, the greatest employer of labour in your Majesty's dominions, assured Mr. Disraeli yesterday, that a very great and beneficial change had come over the feelings of the working classes; perceiving, as they do, that the object of all the measures of the present Ministry is really to elevate their condition and mitigate their lot.

General Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, *26th July* 1875.—General Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

There is great jealousy in this country, and in the Colonies, of the Germans, and the desire of the Australians to annex New Guinea is not to colonise it, but to prevent the Germans from taking possession of it. The German houses in the Australian cities are increasing, and hence the alarm of their rising power. The Australians would not object to the Belgians, but as they would be too weak to hold the colony they might sell it, or have it taken from them by the Germans, who if established there would prove formidable rivals to the Australians.

Sir G. Bowen, Governor of Victoria, told General Ponsonby last week that the Australians were determined to annex New Guinea, but it was a most pestilential climate, and it could only be managed through Chinese, or through the natives, who were warlike but weak. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, 28*th July* 1875 (*Wednesday morning, 3 o'clock a.m.*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He is ashamed to address a gracious and too indulgent Sovereign in this rough manner, but he has literally not an instant of common tranquillity.

The House sat till within an hour of this—all yesterday, night and morn—and, before the House, he was obliged to have a Cabinet. Yet with all this pressure, and the factitious and unjust agitation, he more than hopes to carry everything to a triumphant conclusion.

The Agricultural Bill was carried through the Committee with immense majorities ; only one—but an important clause—remains for—though night—he must say to-day—at 12 o'clock.

He thinks he shall be able to steer through all the difficulties of Merchant Shipping,[1] though Sir C. Adderley is a weak vessel, and Mr. D. ought to have taken the subject out of his hands, but, as your Majesty once deigned to say, "Mr. D. is too good-natured"—that is to say, he cannot bear hurting anybody's feelings, which is a mistake in politics and war. . . .

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

Addington Park, Croydon, 8*th Aug.* 1875.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Archbishop, at the end of a tiring session, is anxious to spend a few weeks in Switzerland, and, according to old custom, he does not feel that he ought to leave the kingdom without your Majesty's permission.

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[1] Owing to the agitation led by Mr. Plimsoll.

If your Majesty would kindly desire a message to be sent to him, the Archbishop would feel greatly obliged.

Queen Victoria to the King of Italy.

[*Copie.*] OSBORNE, 13 *Août* 1875.

SIRE ET BIEN CHER FRÈRE,—Quoique j'ai de suite télégraphié à votre Majesté après la remise des chevaux que vous avez eu l'extrême bonté de m'envoyer par le Comte de Castellengo, je tiens à vous écrire pour vous dire combien je les admire, et combien je suis touchée de la grande amabilité de votre Majesté de vouloir bien penser à me faire ce plaisir. Les chevaux sont bien beaux, et me seront bien utiles. Les ponies gris iront en Ecosse où je me rendrai le 18, afin que je puisse bientôt essayer de les mener moi-même.

J'ai été bien contente de faire la connaissance du Prince de Piémont[1] et d'avoir de vos nouvelles.

Espérant que vous vous portez bien, et que votre chasse a été heureuse, je me dis pour toujours, de votre Majesté, la bien bonne et affectionnée Sœur, VICTORIA R.

The King of Italy to Queen Victoria.

[*Août* 1875.]

MAJESTÉ ET BIEN CHÈRE SŒUR,—Je ne sais comment exprimer à votre Majesté toute ma reconnaissance pour la bonté qu'elle a bien voulu avoir pour moi en m'écrivant sa gracieuse lettre que je viens de recevoir ici à Ste Anne où je chasse encore. Je suis au comble de la joie en pensant que les chevaux ont pu plaire à votre Majesté ; si les petites trotteuses vous serviront, je vous prie de me le faire dire, car je pourrais en mettre ensemble des autres d'autres couleurs, car toute la difficulté consiste à les accoupler, les courses au trot se faisant en Italie avec un cheval seul. Les quatre autres chevaux sont nés à ma maison, et sont très sages attelés ; les deux étalons sont de pur sang arabe.

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[1] King Victor Emmanuel's son, afterwards King Humbert.

Je suis bien heureux de penser qu'à cette heure votre Majesté est en Ecosse, où je sais que le séjour lui est bien agréable ; je vous souhaite bonne campagne de tout mon cœur et vous remercie en même temps des souhaits que vous me faites pour ma chasse, qui en effet a été très belle, ayant tué des bouquetins d'une grandeur extraordinaire. Je prie bien respectueusement votre Majesté de vouloir se rappeler quelquefois de votre humble serviteur qui, je vous l'assure bien, ne vous oublie jamais et fait des vœux constants pour votre bonheur, ainsi que pour celui de toute votre bonne et charmante famille. En vous baisant la main, je suis pour toujours de votre Majesté le très dévoué et affectionné Frère, VICTOR EMMANUEL.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

18*th Aug.* 1875.—This has been an eventful day, and one of terrible and undying recollections ! At half past five left dear Osborne, with Beatrice and Leopold, and embarked at Trinity Pier. The evening was very fine, so bright, and no wind. The *Victoria and Albert* followed us. When we neared Stokes Bay, Beatrice said, very calmly, "Mama, there is a yacht coming against us," and I saw the tall masts and large sails of a schooner looming over us. In an instant came an awful, most terrifying crash, accompanied by a very severe shake and reel. Horatia [Stopford] and Harriet [Phipps] came running and saying there had been a collision, and at the same time General Ponsonby and Lord Bridport rushed up saying, "There is no danger." Then only a frightful alarm seized me, lest some of our people, who always stand in the bows of the vessel, might get hurt. I was assured, however, they were all safe, and Leopold came round at the same moment, so that I knew nothing had happened to him.

It all took only a few seconds, and, when I enquired to whom the yacht belonged, I was told she had gone down ! In great distress I said, "Take everyone, take everyone on board," repeating this several times. I then went forward, to where all the excitement had been going on, and was horrified to find not a single vestige of the yacht, merely a few spars and deck chairs floating about. Two boats were moving round, and we saw one of our men swimming about with a life-belt, and one poor man in the water, who was pulled into the barge, nearly drowned, with his face quite black. I saw no others in the water, but on deck three or four yachtsmen, also a lady, looking anxiously from one side to the other. These had jumped across from the sinking yacht on to the *Alberta*. At first it was hoped that everyone had been saved, and General Ponsonby said the numbers were being counted. Alas ! then it became clear that one lady, whom Leopold had distinctly seen on the deck with the other, was missing, also one man—a dreadful moment.

I was asked to leave the forepart of the ship, as two poor men were being brought up, and the sight was very distressing. However, from near the paddle wheel I could see the poor man being lifted out of the water and lying on the deck, with his coat off and his face perfectly black, Dr. McEwan and two sailors bending over him and moving his arms backwards and forwards. But he gave no sign of life. He was the Captain or Master of the *Mistletoe*, as the yacht was called, a big man of at least seventy. The other, whom I had not noticed before, turned out to be Mr. Heywood, the owner. He also was insensible, but it was hoped he would do well. The poor Captain had probably been injured by a blow, and it was feared he could not be brought round. We saw one of the yachtsmen holding his arm in great agony. It was broken, and no one could attend to him properly, as the doctor was so occupied with the poor old man. It was now discovered that the poor young lady, who was on board, was the sister of the one who was drowned, and Mr. Heywood was the brother-in-law, whose wife was at Ryde, from whence they had been sailing. Commander Fullerton, of the *Victoria and Albert*, had jumped overboard most gallantly, just as he was, only removing his sword, and had hurt his hand in trying to save the poor lady, who had slipped from his grasp! Lieutenant Britten and two sailors had also been in the water. Commander Fullerton and one of our men had actually gone down with the sinking yacht, and had been saved with difficulty. But the poor lady, it is too awful, and I cannot get over it. Harriet had gone off at once to the distraught sister who stood at the end of the vessel, the picture of calm, silent despair, unable to shed a tear. She and the dying man were most harrowing scenes, which as well as the crash, shock, and the complete disappearance of the yacht, will never be forgotten by any of us who were present!

In vain they searched, *no* sign or trace of the poor missing one was to be seen, and so we had to go on finally, having first cut off part of the rigging of the unfortunate *Mistletoe*, which had got entangled on the *Alberta*, whose bowsprit had been carried away. The poor young lady's name was Peel. She was told she might go below to see her brother-in-law, who was recovering, and this was a great comfort to her. The poor old man was dying, in fact I fear already dead. When Miss Peel had come up again I went to say a few words of truest sympathy to her, and pressed her hand. She could only murmur a few words of thanks, and her expression of grief was heart-rending to see.

As soon as we reached Gosport, which we did three-quarters of an hour late, General Ponsonby went on shore and told Admiral Elliot what had occurred. I then sent for him and told him how anxious I was that Mr. Heywood and poor Miss Peel should be taken the greatest care of, as well as the poor crew, and he kindly promised everything possible should be done, and he would let us know all. It was a horrid feeling, having to continue our journey and leave these poor people. It was such a lovely evening, and so distressing that it should have been marred in such an awful way! Felt greatly shaken. A telegram came from Admiral Elliot, saying Mr. Heywood was in bed at Admiralty House, better; the poor old man was dead, and his body had been taken to Haslar, where also the poor man with the broken arm was being treated; and the remainder of the crew had been taken on board the *Duke of Wellington*.

General Ponsonby to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Draft.*] BALMORAL, 3*rd September* 1875.

DEAR MR. DISRAELI,—The Queen commands me to send you the enclosed extract of a letter which her Majesty received last month from the Empress of Germany (which please return).

Her Imperial Majesty then wrote of the movement [1] as arising from a few isolated sparks of sedition, but it has already grown into a formidable rebellion, yet all that we have done is to send our Consul with the others to explain to the insurgents they need not expect any assistance from foreign Powers.

Lord Derby neither liked this proceeding, nor did he anticipate much advantage from it, and it would seem to have produced no effect. Rumours are already afloat that, on the failure of the Consular Mission, the three Emperors are going to interfere.

If so, we should be left out altogether.

The Queen trusts that her Government are carefully watching the progress of events in the Danubian provinces, and will be prepared to act promptly should occasion require it.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 10*th Sept.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your Majesty's most gracious letter. He will attend to all your Majesty's suggestions.

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[1] The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is a great and prolonged trial[1] for your Majesty, but your Majesty will bear it with that dignified magnanimity which is your Majesty's characteristic, combined, as it naturally must be, with that quick and vivid sensibility which endears your Majesty to all those who, like Mr. Disraeli, have the honour and happiness to serve you. Mr. Disraeli read the statement of Prince Leopold with much interest. It is observant, discriminating, and well written. Mr. Disraeli is ashamed that he can only serve your Majesty in this matter with his wishes, but he has a conviction that the tide is turning in these malicious misrepresentations, and that truth will prevail.

He has just seen Lord Derby, and has gone through the Danubian affair to the bottom. We are, on the whole, inclined to believe that the difficulties and dangers have seen their worst. We think that the three Powers are acting *bona fide*, for their jealousy of each other seems to secure that. No hint has yet reached him that any transaction was seriously contemplated by the three Powers, but there is not a single Ambassador here at present, and, until these few days, when Sir A. Buchanan returned to his post,[2] your Majesty's Ambassadors have alike been absent from their posts.

The danger is that the Servians may, in defiance of all counsel and control, rush into the *mêlée*: no one could then predict the result. Mr. Disraeli sees no difficulty, and Lord Derby agrees with him, in your Majesty joining in any arrangement which would secure the autonomy of Herzegovina, under the sovereignty of the Porte; but we have no reason to believe that such a scheme will be proposed. Naturally, the opinion of the Powers *limitrophes* to the disturbed provinces must have great weight in such proposals.

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[1] Owing to the newspaper comments and criticisms on the yacht accident.

[2] At Vienna.

Lord and Lady Derby have just come from a tour in the New Forest, with which he seemed enchanted. Mr. Disraeli asked him to describe it, and he said, "Fancy twenty or thirty of the largest and finest parks in England all put together; and there it is." The absence of the deer, at first much deplored, has, in fact, increased its beauty. They browsed everything away. Now the forest is full again of heather, and furze, and fern.

Mr. Disraeli apologises for taking your Majesty into the New Forest. It was that, for a moment, your Majesty might forget your cares, and he offers every hope for your Majesty's happiness and health.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *8th Nov.* 1875 (*Sunday night*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter of the 6th inst.,[1] but he has read it with much distress.

He never imparts to your Majesty the infinite anxiety and trouble which, in the present state of parties in the Church, and particularly as they are represented on the Conservative benches of the House of Commons, the recommendations of clerical patronage occasion him.

This recommendation of Mr. Burgon has been long and deeply considered, and was not fixed on until after much consultation and enquiry. It would be an appointment soothing to the genuine and moderate High Church party, who may be regained to the support of the Ministry, as distinguished from the Sacerdotal section, who never will pardon Mr. Disraeli for passing the Church Regulation Act of last session.

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[1] In which the Queen had demurred to Mr. Disraeli's nomination of Mr. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel and Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, for the Deanery of Chichester, and had suggested Dr. Scott. Mr. Burgon was eventually appointed.

As a man, Mr. Burgon is more eminent than Dr. Scott. He is one of the lights of the University of Oxford, and distinguished as a writer, a preacher, and a biblical scholar.

Dr. Scott is a schoolmaster, and, with sincere and profound deference to your Majesty, it is a question, whether the dignitaries of the Church have not already been too much furnished from that class of men. They are rarely men of the world; and are too often harsh, pedantic, self-conceited, and dictatorial.

The Deanery of Ripon is not yet vacated. Had it been, it would have been Mr. Disraeli's duty to submit to your Majesty for the vacancy, Mr. Sydney Turner,[1] the founder of Reformatory Schools, and who, for a quarter of a century, has been their Government Inspector; an ill-paid office, but demanding high qualities, and most laborious and responsible. He is a beneficed clergyman, a Cambridge man, who took honours at the University, and is the son of the late Mr. Sharon Turner, the eminent historian of the Anglo-Saxons. Mr. Sydney Turner is too enlightened to be a mere Evangelical, but is of that school of thought.

Mr. Disraeli is, personally, deeply interested in the promotion of this gentleman, for he is the individual who was to have been recommended to your Majesty (and Mr. Disraeli believes was recommended) for the Canonry, which was ultimately conferred on Mr. Duckworth; an appointment which Mr. Disraeli never regrets, but which obtained for Mr. Disraeli no little odium.

As it was your Majesty's personal desire that Mr. Duckworth should have the Canonry, and as it seemed, at the time, his appointment might exercise even a remedial influence on the illness of Prince Leopold, Mr. Disraeli appealed to Mr. Sydney Turner to release him from his promise, which Mr. Sydney Turner did with the grace and readiness of a thorough gentleman.

Mr. Disraeli makes these remarks with unaffected and infinite pain. He has now had the gratification of serving your Majesty for nearly two years, and he believes that no Minister, in that time, has less appealed to your Majesty for the exercise of your Majesty's prerogatives. He has himself no object in public life, but the possession of your Majesty's confidence and gracious feeling, but if, at this critical moment, he cannot count on your Majesty's support in the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage, his position will become one of great difficulty and embarrassment.

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[1] See above, p. 374, and below, p. 433.

He humbly begs your Majesty to place a kind, and gracious, interpretation on anything here written. The pressure of public business is, at this moment, severe, and he is obliged, often, to address your Majesty at times, and under circumstances, which hardly befit one who is addressing his Sovereign.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

BALMORAL, 9*th Nov.* 1875 (*the Prince of Wales's birthday*).—The Queen has received Mr. Disraeli's letter of yesterday's date, and anxious as she always is to give him every support, she has cyphered her approval of Mr. Burgon, and if he presses very much for Mr. S. Turner, she will not withhold her approval for his appointment when another vacancy occurs, but she must take this opportunity of explaining again her *views* on the Church appointments. The Queen is fully alive to the *importance* of gaining and maintaining the support of the Church to the Government, and in no way underrates it. But there are *far larger* questions *at stake* which the Queen, who has *anxiously* and carefully watched the subject for years, and whose opinion Mr. Disraeli always expresses confidence in, is bound to regard as all-important. It must be *remembered* that the appointments in the Church are *all* important for *good* or *evil*, being wide-reaching and of *long* duration in their results, far exceeding the stability of the best of Governments. The Church is in *great danger* from its divisions within, and from the outward danger of Romanism and Popery, as well as from Atheism and Materialism, and the only way to counteract this is by promoting pious, intelligent, well-informed, moderate, but large-minded and liberal-minded men in the Church, and the temporary arrangements or anger of *a few* must not be minded or put into the balance with the *irreparable* mischief caused by appointments *merely* to conciliate party feelings.

The Queen has almost on all occasions agreed to Mr. Disraeli's proposals for Church preferment, and she will do so on this occasion, but she must strongly urge, on any future vacancy, some one of those eminent men whom she named to Mr. Disraeli being selected.

It would be better if Mr. S. Turner got a stall than a deanery.

The Queen was pressed to urge Mr. Birch's claims for a deanery, but she has declined doing so.

10*th Nov.*—The Queen . . . fears that Mr. Burgon, though an able man, will not give general satisfaction from not possessing those qualities on which the Queen lays such stress. She would therefore wish no hurry about the next vacancy.

Mr. S. Turner shall, as Mr. Disraeli wishes, get a promotion, but a stall or canonry would be best for that, and some distinguished canon should be promoted to the next deanery, to enable this to be effected.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

The Deanery, Windsor, 12*th Nov.* 1875.—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty.

This painful correspondence[1] only proves what the Dean has always feared, that, while the Church continues to be the arena of party conflict, each party being represented in turn, in successive Ministries, it will be quite impossible for your Majesty to exclude any one party, provided that distinguished representatives of it are proposed to you for the dignities of the Church.

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[1] That between the Queen and Mr. Disraeli over ecclesiastical appointments.

Your Majesty's answer to Mr. Disraeli is most honest and sensible, as far as the real ultimate welfare of the Church is concerned. But your Majesty's are not the views of Mr. Disraeli's supporters, nor, as yet, of the majority of the Church of England, and it would not be thought fair, while the struggle continues, to put a veto upon such men as Mr. Burgon, when their turn comes uppermost.

The Dean ventures, after long service and devotion to your Majesty, to suggest how far you might act.

First, you might put a stop to promotion, by private favour, of mediocrity in any party. Here Mr. Disraeli touches the weak point of Mr. Duckworth, and takes advantage of it; and the Dean must confess that his appointment and that of Mr. Prothero were both very ill-received. Not that Mr. Duckworth is mediocre, but that he was promoted too soon. But the circumstances attending this (regarding which, would that Prince Leopold was more grateful to your Majesty!) made it unavoidable.

But Mr. Disraeli should recollect that he himself commenced with the promotions of Dean Yorke and Canon Forester, for no other reason than to please their connections. The country would quite go with your Majesty, in withstanding any future promotions of this kind, and so room would be left open for merit in all parties.

Next, your Majesty, in consenting, though with disapprobation, to such a one as Mr. Burgon, might ask the Minister, in fairness, to give the next turn to Mr. Scott. This is what the Dean meant in his former letter, not to put forward Mr. Scott *against* any eminent man who might be proposed by the Ministry, but *with* him, for the other deanery, so as to counterbalance him. Dean Stanley wanted the Deanery of Ripon for Mr. Scott, as it is very poor, and he has means. The Dean *believes* that Sydney

Turner is the father of Mr. Disraeli's private secretary.[1] He has some, but not first-rate claims. However, after all this discussion, it is not worth your Majesty's trouble to try and change him from his poor deanery to a canonry. The latter is oftener of more importance, especially such as Westminster.

If your Majesty wishes it, the Dean will write to Dean Stanley a full account of all your Majesty's endeavours and difficulties on behalf of the cause, which he so nobly espouses. But not only is he of so generous a nature, that he would not have you involved in these, from your sympathy with him, as to Mr. Burgon; but, as in the case of Bishop Wordsworth, he would be the first to recognise an opponent's claim to advancement, from his position and talents in the party to which he belonged, though opposed to himself.

He will continue to preach and write, and contend fairly with his antagonists, though at present he is in the minority in the Church, and therefore it is impossible for your Majesty to secure as many clergymen in high places, thinking like him, as you would wish. It remains to be seen whether the sense of the nation after a while will turn that minority into a majority. The Dean begs your Majesty will pardon his presumption, as well as his tediousness, in writing so plainly. But this whole subject is becoming so delicate and difficult, and he is so anxious for your Majesty's influence being maintained upon it as strongly as possible, that he has endeavoured to point out what he thinks feasible, and what not. The higher the prizes that fall, the more he thinks this course should be observed.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24*th Nov.* 1875.—Received a box from Mr. Disraeli, with the very important news that the Government has purchased the Viceroy of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal for four millions, which gives us complete security for India, and altogether places us in a very safe position ![1] An immense thing. It is entirely Mr. Disraeli's doing. Only three or four days ago I heard of the offer and at once supported and encouraged him, when at that moment it seemed doubtful, and then to-day all has been satisfactorily settled.

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[1] This is a mistake. Mr. Disraeli's secretary was Mr. Algernon Turnor, not Turner.

25*th Nov.*—At a little after six saw Mr. Disraeli, who remained for an hour, and was full of his great success. He said that at first Lord Derby had been much against the plan, also Sir S. Northcote, but that Lord Salisbury had supported him, and that my support had been a great help. It is of course a great step, and may have far-reaching consequences.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th Nov.* 1875.—The news of to-day the Queen felt sure must be a source of great satisfaction and pride to every British heart ! It is *entirely* the doing of Mr. Disraeli, who has *very large ideas*, and *very lofty views* of the position this country should hold. His mind is so much greater, larger, and his apprehension of things great and small so much quicker than that of Mr. Gladstone.

The Queen hopes it will do Mr. Disraeli and her Government great good in the country.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 17*th Nov.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty :

Referring to some remarks made in an audience of your Majesty, when a hope was expressed, that, in adding to the existing Baronetcy, the numbers of the Order should not be unreasonably increased, Mr. Disraeli has the honour to submit the results, obtained from Garter, of the change in that Order since 1st January 1869, when the late Ministry was fairly established, unto the present day.

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[1] The correspondence of Mr. Disraeli with the Queen about the purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal is printed in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 12, where the story is told in full. His final letter, announcing the success of the negotiation, began, " It is just settled : you have it, Madam "—a phrase which he amplified further on into, " the entire interest of the Khedive is now yours, Madam." He promised her to come to Windsor and " tell the whole wondrous tale to-morrow."

Baronetcies created: 40; 34 under Mr. Gladstone, 6 under Mr. Disraeli.

Baronetcies extinct or merged in the same period: 42.

In the same period there have been created: Peerages, by Mr. Gladstone's advice, 31 Peers and 1 Peeress; by Mr. Disraeli's advice, 5; and during this period 26 Peerages have become extinct.

Considering, therefore, that his predecessor, on an average, counselled between 6 and 7 Peerages per annum, and that Mr. Disraeli, in nearly two years, has only counselled 5, he trusts he will not be considered unreasonable if he prays your Majesty to grant a moderate addition to the Peerage.

He believes that a creation of about four Peers, and the promotion of three or four more, would now satisfy the expectations of your Majesty's three kingdoms, and put Mr. Disraeli in the happy position of not having to trouble your Majesty again upon this subject.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *27th Nov.* 1875.—The Queen has duly considered the proposed Peerages and Baronetcies, and as they seem all unobjectionable people with large fortunes, and as Mr. Disraeli says he will engage not again to ask for an increase of this kind except in isolated cases as a personal reward for public services, she will sanction their being conferred. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *28th Nov.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He offers to your Majesty his deep gratitude for the gracious kindness with which your Majesty has acceded to his wishes with respect to the conferring of honours. . . .

Mr. Disraeli has no hesitation in repeating, that this wise and liberal distribution of honours will render, so far as human judgment can guide us, any similar exercise of your Majesty's prerogative unnecessary for years.

But, with the utmost deference, he will presume to observe, that this understanding should be strictly confined to your Majesty and himself. If known, all the good effects of the present gracious act would be destroyed, and those not included would feel deprived of hope. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 28 *Novembre* 1875.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Je vous remercie de la lettre si affectueuse que vous avez daigné m'écrire le 20 de Balmoral, et de la bonté que vous avez de me demander des nouvelles de ma femme et de mes enfants. Nous allons tous bien, grâce à Dieu.

C'est avec une bien vive satisfaction que j'ai appris la résolution de votre Gouvernement d'acheter les actions du Canal de Suez appartenant au Khédive. Permettez-moi, chère Cousine, de vous offrir à cette occasion mes plus chaleureuses et plus sincères félicitations. L'acte posé par votre Gouvernement est très habile et très important. Il crée pourtant sur le Continent une grande sensation, et les amis de l'Angleterre le saluent avec joie. . . . LÉOPOLD.

Lord Northbrook to Queen Victoria.

INDORE, 13*th Nov.* 1875.—Lord Northbrook with his humble duty to your Majesty has the greatest satisfaction in reporting that in his opinion nothing could have been more successful than the reception of the Prince of Wales at Bombay, the procession to Government House after his Royal Highness landed, and the illuminations on Tuesday night.

Your Majesty will receive descriptions of all the ceremonies written with far greater power than Lord Northbrook can command, and he will therefore make no attempt to give any general description but confine himself to a few particulars which occur to him from the position in which he was placed.

First, your Majesty will be glad to hear that the Prince looks particularly strong and well, and showed no traces of being the worse for the heat of the voyage in the Red Sea. Lord Northbrook was able considerably to curtail the customary ceremonies on the occasion of the visits of native Chiefs, and without giving any offence, for they all quite understand how limited the Prince's time is. And the Prince did not appear to be fatigued when Lord Northbrook took leave of his Royal Highness on Wednesday. Bombay, however, was very hot, and the fresher air of Poona will certainly be a great relief.

The anxiety of the people to see his Royal Highness was very marked. Lord Northbrook could observe them pointing him out one to the other. This somewhat interfered with the cheers and clapping of hands on the occasion of the first procession, although there was a good deal of both; and on the night of the illuminations when the Prince was better known the cheering was very great. Your Majesty knows that cheering is not usual in India. The people usually only make their salaam; it has been introduced into Bombay by the Parsees, who are quick to copy English customs, and has been adopted by some other classes in Bombay. Your Majesty therefore must not suppose that, if the welcome be more silent elsewhere, it will be the less loyal.

At the same time there is certainly a greater appearance of cordiality towards British rule among the people of Bombay than Lord Northbrook has seen in other parts of India, and these processions were more remarkable than the former ones which Lord Northbrook saw in Bombay three years ago

There were, as was to be expected, more people in the streets, and the cheering was more general.

Among the devices at the illuminations there were many expressive of loyalty to your Majesty, and occasionally there was one which was somewhat quaint; for instance Lord Northbrook noticed one "How is your Royal Mother?" and another purely native in one of the picturesque narrow streets of the Fort, "Tell Mama we're happy."

The Prince, Lord Northbrook is glad to say, has at once taken to wear the pith military helmet, a most necessary protection against the Indian sun, and moreover not the least becoming of headdresses. His Royal Highness recognised the acclamations of the people by military salutes with his usual courtesy. The Prince's manner and address to native Princes has been much appreciated.

Lord Northbrook has had several conversations with the Prince upon his Royal Highness's plans, and your Majesty will be glad to know that, although himself under no apprehension of fever or other illness, his Royal Highness is very considerate in accepting the advice of medical men as regards his progress, and feels how precious his life is and what natural anxiety is felt by your Majesty, the Princess of Wales, and everyone in England and in India, in regard to his Royal Highness's health. . . .

Sir Bartle Frere[1] was somewhat uneasy as to the adequacy of the sum of £60,000 voted by Parliament for the expenses of presents in India, but he was under the impression that certain other expenses would be chargeable to the vote which will be defrayed in India, and he is now satisfied that the sum will be sufficient. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

CRICHEL, WIMBORNE, *8th Dec.* 1875.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He encloses a letter from Dr. Lightfoot, to whom he had offered, in deference to your Majesty's views and wishes, the now vacant Deanery of Ripon.

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[1] Who accompanied the Prince on his tour in India.

It is a poor Deanery; at present only £600 per annum, with many disadvantages; a bleak clime, a narrow-minded Diocesan with an entirely sympathising clergy and, indeed, laity. It is, in truth, the favoured land of what has been happily described as "Evangelical trash."

Mr. Disraeli ventures to wish that your Majesty would have mercy on poor Sydney Turner[1]! He is neither evangelical nor trash. He is a scholar, the son of a scholar; enlightened and energetic; has done good service, and is capable of doing more; though now somewhat requiring that comparative repose which he has fairly won.

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[1] Dr. Lightfoot having refused, the Queen accepted the nomination of Mr. Turner for the Deanery of Ripon. Mr. Turner, however, resigned the deanery within a year and retired to the rectory of Hempsted, in Gloucestershire.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XV

In 1876 the Queen opened Parliament in person ; a suitable beginning of a session in which her Majesty was to be empowered to assume the title of Empress of India. The Bill for that purpose was not well received, and had a stormy passage through both Houses, in spite of reiterated explanations by Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues that it would not in any way affect, outside India, the traditional and popular title of King or Queen. The Queen herself was much distressed at what seemed to her a factious opposition. For she regarded the measure as merely the natural and necessary completion of the régime established in India in 1858, when the government of the whole country and the overlordship of its many Sovereign Princes was vested in the British Crown. Besides placing the Royal Titles Act on the statute-book, Parliament voted, without a division, in spite of strong opposition by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe, the £4,000,000 required for the purchase of the Khedive's Suez Canal shares ; and during the session the Government programme of social reform was materially advanced. Before prorogation it was announced that Mr. Disraeli, owing to declining physical strength, had left the Commons for the Lords, but that as Earl of Beaconsfield he would still remain Prime Minister.

The time of Parliament and the attention of Ministers were increasingly occupied by foreign affairs, especially by the development of the Eastern Question. Not without hesitation, Mr. Disraeli's Government in January gave in their adherence to the Andrassy Note to Turkey, prepared by the three Imperial Powers. When the Note produced no result, but the revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina spread, Servia and Montenegro prepared to support their Slav brethren, and the French and German Consuls at Salonika were murdered by Mohammedan rioters, the Ministers of the three Powers, Bismarck, Gortchakoff, and Andrassy, met again, and drew up fresh proposals at Berlin in a document which pledged the Powers in the last resort to reinforce diplomatic action by "efficacious" measures. To this "Berlin Memorandum," drafted without consulting Great Britain and in disregard of British traditional policy to support the integrity and independence of Turkey, Mr. Disraeli's Government declined to adhere, and Parliament supported them; but they sent the British fleet to Besika Bay, just outside the Dardanelles, as a measure of precaution against a spread of fanaticism from the Balkans and Salonika to Constantinople. The deposition, at the end of May, of the half-insane Sultan Abdul Aziz, and the elevation of his nephew Murad, by a *coup d'état* engineered by Midhat Pasha, who had a programme of constitutional reform, relieved the situation for a time, and the three Empires withdrew the memorandum.

But the respite was short. At the end of June, Servia and Montenegro declared war on the Porte; and during June and July reports gradually permeated the European world that, in suppressing a revolt in Bulgaria in May, Turkish troops, regular and irregular, had committed severe and barbarous atrocities. These reports, which, though exaggerated at first, proved to have a very substantial basis, horrified public opinion both in Russia and in Britain. In Russia, where there was already a strong Pan-Slavist movement in existence, the disposition to armed interference was greatly strengthened. In Britain a vehement agitation sprang up, in which Radical politicians, philanthropists, historians, High Churchmen, and Nonconformists were prominent. The leaders of opposition, Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, stood aloof; but, at the beginning of September, Mr. Gladstone suddenly emerged from his retirement to head the crusade. It was demanded that, regardless of British interests in India and the East, and even of British Treaty obligations, the policy of supporting the independence and integrity of Turkey should be abandoned, that Turkish authority should be expelled from the Slav provinces, if not from Europe altogether; and the more extreme agitators advocated that Britain should forward by force of arms this policy of liberation. Ministers were denounced for acts and omissions said to be calculated to encourage Turkish cruelty and oppression.

Amidst all this clamour the Government maintained the traditional policy towards Turkey, but made strong demands for reparation to the Bulgarians, punishment of offenders, and guarantees against the recurrence of outrage. The situation was complicated by the successes of the Turkish arms, which were so considerable by the end of August as to place Servia in a serious position, and might well bring Russia into the field as Servia's supporter. The British Government pressed for an armistice, and put forward a policy of local self-government for the Turkish provinces in the Balkans. There was much negotiation about the duration of the armistice, and finally Russia, by a sudden ultimatum to the Porte on 31st October, enforced a limitation to a month or six weeks. Meanwhile, the situation had undergone two important changes. The Sultan Murad had proved incompetent, if not insane; and a second palace revolution had deposed him in favour of his brother Abdul Hamid. Moreover, in England, the force of the agitation had largely spent itself; and the danger of bringing Russia into the field was being realised. Russia proposed that she should occupy Bulgaria and that Austria should occupy Bosnia, while the British Fleet should come up to Constantinople. This scheme was rejected by England, and it was agreed that a Conference of the Powers should be held at Constantinople to settle the question; Lord Salisbury, no friend to Turkey, being appointed the representative of Great Britain. The opposition of Britain and Russia was emphasised by Lord Beaconsfield's pronouncement at Guildhall, on Lord Mayor's Day, that, while England was essentially a non-aggressive Power, yet her resources were such that in a righteous war she would fight on till right was done; and by the Emperor Alexander's statement at Moscow that, if he could not obtain the necessary guarantees from the Porte, he was determined to act independently. The Conference met on 23rd December, and simultaneously the Sultan promulgated a new and liberal Constitution. Relying on this gesture, the Turkish Plenipotentiaries persisted down to the close of the year in a general resistance to the united demands of the Powers.

Through the various phases of the Eastern Question, Prince Bismarck kept in close touch with Russia, while making, at intervals, overtures to Great Britain, which were on the whole welcomed by the Queen and by Lord Beaconsfield, but were regarded with some suspicion by Lord Derby, and led for the present to no result. In France the elections under the new Constitution produced a sweeping Republican success, and a Conservative Republican Ministry came into office. In Spain the Carlist rebellion was crushed in February, and Don Carlos fled from the country. In Egypt, as a result of a mission by Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert, on behalf of English and French bondholders, two Comptrollers-General, one English and one French, were appointed by the Khedive to supervise Egyptian finance. In the United States 1876 was celebrated as a centennial year, the Independence of the American Colonies having been proclaimed in 1776. In the autumn there was a disputed Presidential election, and it had not been decided before the end of the year whether Mr. Hayes (Republican) or Mr. Tilden (Democrat) had won.

The Prince of Wales returned in the spring from a highly successful tour in India. Lord Carnarvon settled the claims of the Orange Free State in the diamond-fields by a payment of £90,000. A more than usually embittered conflict between the Transvaal Boers and their Kaffir neighbours gave an impetus to the idea of a cession of the country to the British Crown.

For two years, from the outbreak of the agitation about the Bulgarian Atrocities in July 1876 to the signature of the Berlin Treaty in July 1878, both Queen Victoria and her Prime Minister were profoundly absorbed in the Eastern Question, treating all other political questions as, for the time, quite subsidiary. The letters and telegrams interchanged between them on the subject were countless ; in June 1877, halfway through the period, Lord Beaconsfield told a friend that her Majesty " writes every day and telegraphs every hour ; this is almost literally the case." This important correspondence is quoted and elucidated at great length in the first nine chapters, occupying 368 pages, of vol. vi of *The Life of Disraeli*, where the communications that passed at each critical stage are set out very nearly in full. It is to that volume that those must turn who wish to follow in detail the Queen's sentiments and actions as the situation developed. Here, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, space is limited, and documents already published are seldom reproduced. But it is hoped that in the following pages the reader will find her Majesty's general outlook on the Eastern Question during the period clearly indicated by means of extracts from her Journal and of several interesting letters not hitherto published.

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CHAPTER XV

1876

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

WESTON, SHIFNAL, 11*th Jan.* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He is distressed to learn the sorrow[1] which is impending over your Majesty. It is the fate of Sovereigns, that the area of their affections should necessarily be limited; but then, it is said, that some compensation is found by them in the sense of imperial duties, which has a sustaining power.

But Mr. Disraeli has long perceived, that, though seated on a lofty throne, and gifted with an intelligence not unequal to the great occasion, the fact of empire, and the fitness for its rule, are combined, in the instance of your Majesty, with a heart of extreme sensibility.

It would be presumptuous in him to attempt to condole, even if condolence had, at any time, any worth, but the humblest may sympathise, and he offers, on his part, that sympathy, with duty and respectful affection.

[*Same day.*] Mr. Disraeli . . . has given unceasing attention to the subject of the Imperial title,[2] but did not wish to trouble your Majesty on the matter until the difficulties were removed. They have been many, and some remain.

It was Mr. Disraeli's opinion, and still is, that the best mode of announcing the assumption would have been in your Majesty's gracious speech on the opening of Parliament, connected with a paragraph on the visit to India. But then, it has been urged, that the assumption of a new style in the Sovereign must be an affair of legislation and not of prerogative; and the instance is alleged of the union with Ireland, when the new Royal style was introduced into the Act of Union. All this is now before the Lord Chancellor.

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[1] The imminent death (which occurred on 1st March) of the Queen's intimate friend Lady Augusta Stanley.

[2] See Introductory Note.

Questions also arise as to the style, not only to be formally adopted, but generally used. Mr. Disraeli would like your Majesty to be styled "Empress-Queen" like Maria Theresa, but then it is objected that the Empire is in fact a dependency, and should not take precedence of your Majesty's ancient Kingdom. Then, it has been suggested that the Imperial title might be assumed, and used for all your Majesty's dominions. But weighty and politic objections have been urged to this proposal.

Mr. Disraeli mentions all this, to prove to your Majesty that your Majesty's wishes have not been neglected by him, and indeed, much occupy his thought. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 14*th* *Jan.* 1876.— . . . With respect to your Majesty's title, there seems to be no doubt that Padishah in Hindustani, and Empress of Hindustan in English, will be the proper titles to employ in India. No difficulty can occur to prevent their assumption in that country. The formal assumption of them *in England* is undoubtedly, as Mr. Disraeli notices,[1] subject to legal considerations, of which only lawyers can judge. Both the Acts of Union raise difficulties in this respect; but Lord Salisbury trusts that there is no impediment which can prevent your Majesty's wishes from being in substance carried out.

[1] The Queen had shown Lord Salisbury Mr. Disraeli's letter of the 11th about the change in the Royal title.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 21*st Jan.* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

At the Union with Ireland, the style, flag, and arms of the " United Kingdom and its Dependencies " were, by the Act of Union, ordered to be such as the King should order by Proclamation under the Great Seal. And so they were settled in their present form.

If the style is now to be altered, it would be best to announce the intention in the Royal Speech, and then a short Act would have to be introduced, referring to the Act of Union, and empowering the Sovereign again to fix the style by Proclamation. The particular style need not be specified beforehand.

It is his duty to mention the objections applicable to the suggestion, that it should be " Empress of Great Britain, Ireland, and India." It would, probably, be very unpopular for your Majesty to relinquish your style of English Queen. And, perhaps, it would scarcely be wise in the view of your Majesty's personal interest, and in that of your Royal House. There is no doubt the monarchy is popular with the country, and one of the elements of that popularity is its duration. For generations and centuries it has been something for the country to rally round. Is it wise to abolish at once this traditionary source of strength ?

By a change in your Majesty's arms and flag, and especially by the superscription on your coinage, the fact of Imperial assumption would be made clear and of daily experience by the millions.

These are rough notes thrown out for your Majesty's thought.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

7 STRATFORD PLACE [*undated.* ? *Jan.* 1876].—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty.

Mr. Moore will probably not live many days, and the Dean therefore wishes to remind your Majesty, respecting his successor, that you should inform Mr. Disraeli that the Canonries of Windsor are always nominated by the Sovereign. . . .

At this juncture, when the Stanleys are in such trouble, the Dean would mention (as your Majesty may not have heard of him) the Rev. H. Pearson, who is Dean Stanley's oldest and most intimate friend, and indeed *now* goes backwards and forwards to the Deanery, and stays in it to comfort him. He is a very good man, and a fair preacher, and very well known by all the authorities in the Church. Probably there is nothing, at this moment, that would give the Stanleys greater pleasure than his appointment. His views are those of Dean Stanley, of whom he is a great admirer. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

India Office, 31*st Jan.* 1876.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully draws your Majesty's attention to the vacancy which has been created in the Bishopric of Bombay, by the death of the late Bishop Douglas.

Lord Salisbury submits the name of the Rev. Louis Mylne, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, now Senior Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. He is a man of great learning and ability: and at the same time a young man, which in that climate is a matter of extreme importance. His father spent the greater part of his life in Bombay—which will give him a fair start among the mercantile community. He was brought up as a Presbyterian; and his mother is of that persuasion still. He has, however, become a Churchman; but his experience in this respect is likely to make him tolerant and sympathetic in dealing with the various Christian bodies he will meet in India. He belongs to the High Church school; but there is no danger of his giving way to any of the extravagances by which several of that party have recently made themselves notorious.

Lord Salisbury submits his name to your Majesty with confidence that his attainments and the cast of his mind fit him to cope with the refined and philosophical heathens among whom it will be his duty [to] labour.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 1*st* *Feb.* 1876.—The Queen has to acknowledge Lord Salisbury's letter of yesterday relative to the Bishopric of Bombay.

The state of the Church of India is so critical, and it is so important to have people of very moderate and conciliatory opinions appointed to the highest office in the Church there, that the Queen would wish Lord Salisbury to consult the Archbishop of Canterbury *before* proceeding farther, and then to inform her of the Archbishop's opinion.

Lord Lytton to General Ponsonby.

BUCKLANDS HOTEL, *7th February* 1876.

MY DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I am deeply grateful for the Queen's favour conveyed to me by your kind letter which must have crossed mine to you from Hatfield.

Madame de Staël has said, truly I think as well as prettily, that "Pardonner c'est comprendre." And I doubly prize the gracious privilege with which the Queen has deigned to accompany her Majesty's most kind forgiveness of my involuntary error, because it is to me a precious proof that, notwithstanding the erroneous form of my letter,[1] her Majesty has understood the sincerely respectful and profoundly grateful feelings with which it was written.

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[1] In a letter thanking the Queen for the gift of the first two volumes of the *Life of the Prince Consort*, Lord Lytton had written in the first person, instead of using the statesman's traditional third-person form, beginning with "humble duty." The Queen had apparently not only forgiven him, but encouraged him to write, as Viceroy of India, to her Majesty in the first person—a privilege of which, it will be seen, he fully availed himself.

May I ask you, my dear General, to convey to her Majesty (who, indeed, will ever *truly* be the "First Person" in the reverent devotion of her Majesty's future Viceroy) my grateful appreciation of the favour conferred upon me by her Majesty's goodness? Yours, dear General Ponsonby, very faithfully, LYTTON.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *9th Feb.* 1876.—The Queen returns these letters to Lord Derby. She has been much impressed with the despatches and letters from Lord Odo Russell on the desire expressed by Prince Bismarck to act in concert with us in the support of peace in the East.[1] He is apparently honest in his wish for a good understanding with England, and at all events the object he aims at is the maintenance of peace. This being also our object, it would seem but natural that we should act together.

The Queen therefore thinks that it is of the utmost importance that we should accept the proffered aid of Germany, a strong state whose interests are the same as ours and whose policy can or should seldom be opposed to that of an English Government.

Lord Odo, who is evidently in favour of this mutual understanding, points out that we should lose no time in giving Prince Bismarck to understand that we shall be ready to act with Germany. The Queen considers that the importance of establishing a link between the two countries cannot be overrated, and desires earnestly to impress upon Lord Derby the necessity of authorising Lord Odo Russell to enter into free and unrestricted communication with Prince Bismarck upon Eastern affairs.[1]

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[1] In her Majesty's Journal for 7th February she reports a conversation with Mr. Disraeli on that day: "Then talked about Bismarck's evidently sincere proposal to act with us in the Oriental Question, which Mr. Disraeli thinks is most important and should not be refused. But he finds that Lord Derby is afraid to act, though he strongly urged on him the necessity for doing so. He begged me also to urge, which I said I would, though of course one can never trust Bismarck."

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 12*th Feb.* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The Egyptian darkness of yesterday prevented his sending to Windsor, or he should not have lost a day in thanking your Majesty for your Majesty's gracious and interesting communication of the 10th instant. If this practical good understanding with Germany be accomplished, it will place our external relations on a rock, and England will again exercise that influence which, of late years, has so painfully and mysteriously disappeared.

Mr. Disraeli has unceasingly impressed upon Lord Derby the absolute necessity of frankly and definitely co-operating with the offers and overtures of Prince Bismarck; but it is on your Majesty that Mr. Disraeli mainly relies for success in this endeavour. Lord Derby, though he often seems ungenial, not to say morose, is, Mr. Disraeli knows, much influenced by your Majesty's opinion on external affairs, and really appreciates both your Majesty's information and judgment.

Mr. Disraeli need not repeat his own sentiments on that head. He believes that they are entirely understood by your Majesty, and he can truly say that he works with double ardour when he knows he has your Majesty's sympathy and aid to support him. . . .

Affairs go on prosperously. All the Government measures hitherto introduced obtain the support and commendation even of the opposite benches. Monday will be an important day: the Suez Vote.[1] The debate will, perhaps, not terminate the first night. Mr. Disraeli has no fear as to the result. If the Ministry have a large majority, the neck of the session will be broken, and it will probably be one of much business, but of comparative tranquillity.

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[1] Lord Derby's reply is printed in full in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 1. He expressed his agreement with the Queen's view of Prince Bismarck's offer and proposed to meet his overtures in a spirit of cordial friendship. He added, however, that "more may be intended by this communication than meets the eye. [Lord Derby] cannot possess implicit confidence in Prince Bismarck's desire of peace, remembering the events of last spring. And he would like to see more clearly than he does what assistance England is expected to give in return for that which is offered." For "the events of last spring," see above, pp 389–410

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

Windsor Castle, 12*th Feb.* 1876.—Mr. Moore, Canon of Windsor, is dead and, as the Queen wrote the other day, the Sovereign always names to the Prime Minister the person she wishes appointed to be Canon here.[2] She would therefore wish Mr. Disraeli to take the proper steps for appointing the Rev. Hugh Pearson, Vicar of Sonning, Reading. He has been doing the work for Mr. Moore, to the universal satisfaction of *everyone* here, and is an accomplished, amiable man of good abilities. Moreover, Mr. Pearson has for many years been a distinguished parish priest.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

India Office, 12*th Feb.* 1876.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that in obedience to your Majesty's commands he has consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury with reference to Mr. Mylne. The Archbishop, not being personally acquainted with him, referred to a nephew of his own, who is tutor of New College.[3] The Archbishop writes of the result as follows: "The enclosed is from my nephew, a fellow and tutor of

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[1] The vote for the purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal.

[2] Mr. Disraeli, replying to an enquiry by the Queen on 17th February, wrote that he understood her Majesty's letter about Mr. Pearson, "not as authorising, or requiring, any reply from him, but as giving your Majesty's commands; and he obeyed them." Mr. Pearson was accordingly appointed.

[3] The Rev. W. A. Spooner afterwards Warden of New College.

New College, of the soundest judgment. You will see that he speaks in high terms of Mr. Mylne. I had no knowledge of that gentleman personally. I thought it the best way of fulfilling your wishes to make confidential enquiries of one whom I could fully trust and I therefore ventured to do so. With such a character no difficulty could be raised as to the appointment, if your Lordship on full consideration thinks Mr. Mylne the right man."

The Archbishop's correspondent gives a full and fair account of Mr. Mylne. He speaks of Mr. Mylne's real earnestness, his power of organisation, his intellectual ability, and his "gentlemanliness." The only defect he notes is that, though his opinions are not extreme, they are "rigid."

Lord Salisbury is fully sensible that rigidity is a defect in such a position; but he does not attach to it sufficient importance to countervail Mr. Mylne's other recommendations. Earnest men, when young, are almost always rigid. As experience comes, the rigidity wears off, but the earnestness remains. In the present case this result may be counted on with especial confidence.

In a limited academical society, among whom controversy is incessant, sharply defined opinions are natural and inevitable. But in the presence of the great heathen religions of India, the petty differences which divide English Christians shrivel up into insignificance. In several cases Lord Salisbury has had the opportunity of noting how much this wider experience broadens the minds of those who are submitted to it for the first time.

Lord Salisbury has, therefore, no hesitation in renewing to your Majesty his confident recommendation of Mr. Mylne for the Bishopric of Bombay.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th Feb.* 1876.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Salisbury's letter of the 12th.

After reading the communication from the Archbishop, she will not object to the appointment of Mr. Mylne to the Bishopric of Bombay, although it would have been better, she thinks, to have sent a man there of less "rigid opinions," as more likely to get on with the various difficult and conflicting elements to be met with at Bombay.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th February* 1876.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen has no objection to General Menabrea.[1] But her Majesty is much opposed to any increase of Embassies, indeed her Majesty thinks that the time for Ambassadors with their pretensions is past. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

19*th Feb.* 1876.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that in consequence of the announced intention of the Italian Government to raise its Legation in England to the rank of an Embassy, he brought before the Cabinet the question whether the English Legation at Rome should be similarly raised, and the opinion in favour of so raising it was unanimous.

Lord Derby quite understands your Majesty's reluctance to see the number of Ambassadors increased, and he certainly should not have originated a proposal of the kind; but he fears that a refusal under the circumstances could only be regarded as a slight to Italy, and he need not say that the popularity of the Italian Government and people in this country is very great, and that the maintenance of cordial relations with Italy is desired by all parties.

Italy is now a recognised "Great Power," and the only one of the six which is not represented by Ambassadors. This is what has led to the Italian proposal, and the rejection of it would look like a refusal to admit the claim of Italy to the position which she desires, and which she may fairly expect to hold.

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[1] Who was proposed as first Italian Ambassador in London. Italy had only had a Minister before.

There is no other possible claim of the kind for which the present can be a precedent. And it may be added that, considering the small pay and slow promotion of the diplomatic service, it is an advantage to improve the position of one of its leading members.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

22*nd Feb.* 1876.—Although the Queen adheres to the opinions she has expressed, she sees it would be impossible to press them on the present occasion, and therefore her Majesty will be ready to receive General Menabrea as Italian Ambassador.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th Feb.* 1876.—A very fine morning. Walked in the garden[1] with Janie E., and then drove to the Deanery, where the Dean and Mrs. Drummond met me at the door. The latter took me into poor dear Augusta's bedroom, and I saw her sleeping heavily, but peacefully, not looking much altered. I then sat a little while with the poor Dean, who was much upset at first. He said he only lived from day to day. After luncheon saw Mr. Disraeli, who talked of the Titles Bill causing trouble and annoyance, he could not tell why. I spoke of the feeling about the Colonies and gave him full power to add anything to the title. He thought a plan of his to give to two of my sons the titles of Duke of Canada and Duke of Australia might be a good way of solving the difficulty, and I saw no objection to it if he found it would be of use. He was greatly pleased at the Suez Debate going off so well.

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[1] At Buckingham Palace.

Left Buckingham Palace at half past four with Beatrice and Leopold, the ladies, etc., following. Glad to be back.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 1*st March* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The portrait[1] has quite safely arrived, and is now in his drawing-room. It will have a more suitable home at Hughenden, but he did not like to be separated from it so soon, and for so long a time.

It is a fine work of art, yet a faithful and living portraiture. The sight of it will animate and sustain him in many cares and struggles, and the memory of the gracious manner, in which it was bestowed on him, will always touch his heart. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2*nd March* 1876.—Before breakfast heard that my dearest friend Augusta was, alas! no more. She died quite peacefully last night. Too sad! But yet what a blessed release from such cruel sufferings! Sent Janie Ely up to the Deanery to ask for details. Walked with Beatrice to the Mausoleum. After luncheon saw Janie E., who had just returned, and had seen the poor Dean. He wished to know my wishes as to the last sad ceremony. Oh! *what* it means to me to lose that dear friend who was everything to me from '61 to the end of '63, being with me at those two dreadful times in '61! She was such a help in so many ways, so sympathising, loving, and kind, so attached to me and mine, so clever and agreeable, known to so many. She used to write such interesting letters and knew so many interesting people. It was always a treat to me when she came. How kind she was in going off to Baden-Baden the moment I telegraphed how ill dearest Feodore was, and how she did all for me there, and again at the marriage of Affie and Marie, with such zeal, love, and affection! I wrote to the poor Dean.[1]

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[1] The portrait of the Queen by Angeli, which her Majesty presented to Mr. Disraeli, and a reproduction of which forms the frontispiece of this volume.

14*th March*.—Saw General Ponsonby, who had been up to Town to see Mr. Disraeli, owing to fresh troubles about the Titles Bill, and a letter I had received from Lord Granville, written in rather a threatening tone. Mr. Disraeli said it was quite impossible to retract, that he must stand or fall, but he felt sure he would win. Lord Granville and Lord Hartington had been pressed to propose postponement, which would be fatal.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th March* 1876.—The Queen is sure that Mr. Martin (though he has *not* mentioned it) is as shocked and surprised at the conduct of the Opposition, and the sort of disgraceful agitation caused thereby, on the subject of her additional title—by which she has *always* been called in India, and often by people here, who, including the Dean of Westminster, thought she *had* officially adopted it, viz. *Empress of India*. The reason the Queen *now* writes to Mr. Martin is to ask whether he cannot get inserted into some papers a small paragraph to this *effect*, only worded by himself: "There seems a very strange misapprehension on the part of some people, which is producing a mischievous effect; viz. that there is to be an *alteration* in the *Queen's and Royal* family's *ordinary* appellation. Now this is utterly false. The Queen will be always called 'the Queen,' and her children 'their Royal Highnesses,' and *no* difference whatever is to be made except OFFICIALLY ADDING after *Queen* of Great Britain, '*Empress of India*,' the name which is best understood in the East, but which Great Britain

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[1] The Queen was present, privately, at Lady Augusta's funeral in Westminster Abbey on the 9th, in (as she wrote in her Journal) "the sort of open pew, overlooking the nave, where I had sat with dear Augusta, I think in '64."

(which *is an Empire*) never has acknowledged to be *higher* than Queen or King." Her own Ministers and Viceroys have constantly called her "Empress of India," and she believes it is a *mere* attempt to injure Mr. Disraeli, but which is *most disrespectful* and indecorous. The Queen sends in confidence the accompanying papers as they may help. Mr. Martin will easily believe that the Queen and her Government will *not* yield to *mere* clamour and intimidation! In the City and Whitechapel on the 7th,[1] she was much struck by *one large inscription* with these words: "Welcome, Queen and Empress," and two or three smaller ones, "Welcome, Empress of India." *Never* yield to clamour and misrepresentation—if a thing is right and well considered. The Prince and Queen always have acted on this principle.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th March* 1876.—Heard, on getting up, that the second reading of the Titles Bill had been carried by 105!—an immense majority. It is to be hoped now no more stupid things will be said, and that the matter will be dropped. I cannot understand how the quite incorrect rumour can have got about, that *I* did not care for it; it is really too bad. But all sensible people know that this Bill will make *no* difference here, and that I am all for it, as it is so important for India. There is no feeling whatever in the country against it, but the Press took it up, having at first been all the other way.

VILLA HOHENLOHE, BADEN-BADEN,[2] 2*nd April.*—On getting up received letters from Mr. Disraeli and the Duke of Richmond, giving an account of the debate, and both saying that the Duke of Somerset's language had been most ungentlemanlike and unusual in the House of Lords, disrespectful to me, and very offensive to Mr. Disraeli, insinuating that it was all a trick to get my children a higher position at the German Courts! Really too bad and too ridiculous, as it is an absolute falsehood, my family having that precedence and yielding it to *none.* The great struggle is to be to-morrow on the third reading on Lord Shaftesbury's motion, asking me not to accept the title!

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[1] When the Queen visited the London Hospital to open a new wing.

[2] Where the Queen had gone to visit her half-sister's grave.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25*th April.*—Saw Mr. Disraeli at one. He was much annoyed at what had occurred about the Titles Bill, which certainly seemed inexplicable. Speaking of the Proclamation, he explained that it had been most carefully considered, that the title was not to be used in writs and other legal matters in England, or in ordinary transactions, but would be for commissions in the Army, as officers served in India as well as in England, also in all foreign treaties and communications with foreign Sovereigns. In these cases I should have to sign "Victoria R. & I."

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

INDIA OFFICE, 11*th May* 1876.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits a telegram from the Viceroy, which is satisfactory as showing that your Majesty's assumption of title is not received otherwise than gratefully by those whom it primarily affects.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Lord Lytton to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Telegram.*]

SIMLA, 10*th May* 1876.—Maharajah Holkar sends me following message by telegraph, requesting me to transmit it to the Queen.

"Allow me to offer my respectful congratulations on your Majesty's assumption of title of Empress of India."

Kindly transmit this message to her Majesty.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, 16*th May*.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The Cabinet, as announced to your Majesty, met this day, to take into consideration the Note[1] of the three Powers. Having ascertained that all his colleagues were well acquainted with that document, the Prime Minister then read to them the enclosed paper,[2] embodying his own views, but with no wish unduly to control those of others. After a deliberation of an hour and a half, the policy expressed in the Memorandum of the Prime Minister was adopted, and instructions of reserve, etc., immediately telegraphed to the Ambassadors of your Majesty.

Mr. Disraeli hopes to attend your Majesty to-morrow, as he much wishes to have your Majesty's counsel and commands, but he regrets to say his enemy the N.E. blast has attacked him, and he is unable to attend the House of Commons to-day. . . .

General Ponsonby to Mr. Disraeli.

Windsor Castle, 16*th May* 1876.

Dear Mr. Disraeli,—My letter and the Queen's telegram crossed yours.

Her Majesty is much struck by the force of your arguments, which require time for consideration. It is true that the three Emperors have acted without taking the other Powers into their deliberations. But their interests are more intimately and more vitally connected with the welfare of Turkey than those of England, France, and Italy. The Queen's dislike to our separating ourselves from the rest arises from a fear that Turkey will look to us to help her against the rest of Europe, and that we shall thus precipitate rather than prevent the catastrophe.

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[1] The Berlin Memorandum. See Introductory Note.

[2] Containing a recommendation that the British Cabinet should decline to adhere to the Berlin Memorandum. The full text of the paper appears in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 1.

The Queen thinks it right to let you know her views at once, but would have preferred speaking to you upon them. She regrets to hear you are not well, and doubts whether it would be wise for you to come to-morrow. Her Majesty will be happy to see you on Friday morning. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 18*th May* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He sends the enclosed, although your Majesty may have received it. There is nothing in Lord Odo's remarks[1] of significance.

The Turks will feel, in a manner they cannot mistake, that your Majesty is not going to rush into rash enterprises to prop up their falling power, and that their only chance is to follow the directions of your Majesty's Government without cavil.

What Lord Odo assumes, is the fear of a repetition of a Crimean war. Mr. Disraeli thinks it will now all end in a Congress. Nothing must be hurried, and, before the Congress meets, the policy of England and Germany should be decided, and the same.

24*th May*.— . . . The Cabinet on Monday last, and this day, considered the condition of your Majesty's fleet in the Turkish waters, which they resolved greatly to strengthen. They had ordered the *Monarch*, the *Rupert*, and the *Sultan* to the Dardanelles, which would have raised the number of our ironclads to ten, and, this morning, they resolved to send, as soon as possible, two other ships of a high calibre.

The Cabinet to-day was obliged to be held under this roof, for, Mr. Disraeli regrets to say, he is suffering much from gout. This prevents his writing to your Majesty to-day as fully as he could wish on public affairs, but he will use the telegraph freely when necessary.

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[1] Lord Odo Russell, Ambassador in Berlin, had represented to the Government that the refusal to adhere to the Berlin Memorandum would have "serious consequences."

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

Balmoral Castle, 27*th May* 1876.—The Queen has never had a single line from Lord Derby since the proposals from Berlin were rejected, and he never replied to the cypher of the day before yesterday. While, as she said in that cypher, she cannot but regretfully approve this course, on account of the impracticability of the proposals, *she must strongly urge* on the Government the great importance—if we are not to be isolated or dragged into a fresh war—of showing a readiness, and even anxiety, to act with the other Powers, and of having a Conference on the subject; and not to let the Porte believe, or still more the other Powers, that we advised them to refuse the adoption of the Berlin proposal.

The Queen feels this most strongly. She does not either quite see why we strengthen our fleet so much in the Dardanelles. All that would seem really necessary is a few ships in different parts to protect the Christians.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

2 Whitehall Gardens, 29*th May* 1876.— . . . When Lord Odo received the despatch in reply to the Berlin Memorandum, Prince Bismarck had left that city, but the Prince had been immediately acquainted with our views by telegram from Count Münster, who had seen Lord Derby, and from the time of the receipt of that telegram, Prince Bismarck had been engaged in general communication with all the Powers concerned. His silence proceeds from uncertainty.

Your Majesty's fleet has not been ordered to the Mediterranean to protect Christians or Turks, but to uphold your Majesty's Empire. Had your Majesty sanctioned the Berlin Memorandum, Constantinople would, at this moment, have been garrisoned by

Russia, and the Turkish fleet have been placed under Russian protection.

It was the knowledge of this advice, given to the Sultan by General Ignatieff,[1] that led to the revolt of the Softas. The policy that we are advising your Majesty to pursue, prudent and conciliatory, but perfectly firm, will ensure your Majesty, and your descendants, always adding to the sign-manual R. & I.

2nd June.— . . . Yesterday the Cabinet met, and agreed that a friendly representation should be made to all the Powers, with respect to the assembling of the squadrons of all nations in Besika Bay, viz. that, notwithstanding our force, it was our intention to strictly observe the treaties of 1841 and '56, which forbid ships of war entering the Dardanelles, while Turkey was at peace, and inviting from the other Powers a similar and reciprocal engagement. We believe that this step will have a beneficial effect. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

BALMORAL, *3rd June* 1876.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli for his last two letters. She is glad to hear of the intended communication to the great Powers respecting the *Fleets*. It is most important that we should not, as in '54, drift into a war. The Queen could not again sanction *that*, and she believes the *nation* would *not*.

She hopes that the change of the Sovereign[2] at Constantinople may have a good effect; but she *cannot* APPROVE these violent depositions, and, considering that the Sultan Abdul Aziz was her guest, always enquired, as Sir H. Elliot said, on all occasions after herself, and has in *his* day made *great reforms*, she would wish her feelings on the subject to be made known to Sir H. Elliot. If, as has been said, the

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[1] Russian Ambassador at Constantinople; a Pan-Slavonic enthusiast.

[2] The Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed on 29th May, by a palace revolution, in favour of his nephew Murad; and in a few days it was announced that he had died by his own hand.

Sultan Abdul Aziz was not right in his mind, every allowance may be made for what has occurred. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Most Confidential.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *7th June* 1876.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He apologises—deeply—for not having written to your Majesty yesterday as he stated he would; but the violent death of the Sultan, and his own feeble state of health, disturbed his judgment, and he destroyed at the last moment the letter, which he had had the honour of addressing to your Majesty.

After giving to the present state of affairs his deep and unbroken consideration, he sees nothing to regret in the course which he has advised your Majesty to pursue, and every reason to be satisfied with it.

The three leading incidents in your Majesty's policy have been these:

1st, The refusal to sanction the Berlin Note.

2ndly, The sending your Majesty's Fleet to the Turkish waters.

3rdly, The friendly warning to the Powers respecting the assembling of the various naval forces there, and the deference for treaties, which all the Powers should alike observe and expect.

They form together a policy of determination, but also conciliatory, which Mr. Disraeli believes will attain your Majesty's wishes: the preservation of European peace, and, at the same time, the restoration of your Majesty's influence in the general councils, which, for some years, has not been so marked as could be desired.

To escape isolation by consenting to play a secondary part does not become your Majesty; and is a short-sighted policy, for, leading to frequent humiliation, it ultimately occasions wars, which are neither just nor necessary.

Mr. Disraeli looks upon the Tripartite understanding between the three Imperial Powers of the Continent as virtually extinct, as extinct as the Roman Triumvirate; and that no leading step will in future be taken without first consulting your Majesty.

Shall Lord John Manners remain? There is no other Minister whom Mr. Disraeli could well send at this moment, for Lord Malmesbury is on the Continent, much broken, and with a month's leave. Lord John Manners is very intelligent, and unaffectedly devoted to your Majesty: he is most trustworthy, and entirely possesses Mr. Disraeli's confidence.

The weather in Scotland appears to be severe. Here, it is all that even farmers can wish: soft showers at night and sunny days, and the crops, at least in this district, more than promising.

Mr. Disraeli is sorry that he cannot give as good an account of himself as he could wish. He does not regain his strength, and often feels he shall have to renounce the great personal happiness of serving your Majesty; he trusts, however, he may have the satisfaction of assisting the triumphant conclusion of your Majesty's present cares.

He trusts your Majesty is well and happy; but he feels—and has felt—acutely, that your Majesty, during your visit to the Highlands, must have had many anxious moments. He wishes that he could have saved your Majesty from them, and he sometimes feels that he troubles your Majesty too much; but this is not from want of consideration for your Majesty's time and feelings, but rather from, perhaps, a too anxious desire that your Majesty should ever take a leading, and recognised, part in the government of your Empire.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

BALMORAL, 8*th June* 1876.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli for his kind and interesting letter received this evening which crossed hers. She thinks his view of the present state of affairs a very just and wise one.

The Queen told the Empress of Germany the other day (since the Empress left and about a fortnight ago) that we had not agreed to the Berlin proposals, as we thought that they were not feasible, but that we had the greatest desire to act with other Powers, at the same time that we thought we ought to have been consulted *before* the decision of the three Imperial Governments had been taken, and not afterwards. To this the Emperor William (to whom the Queen wished this to be made known) has made the answer which the Queen has had translated, and sends.

She further told Prince Alfred that it would be a good thing if the Emperor Alexander could know how hated Ignatieff was, how false and intriguing, and that he was the cause of *all* the *mischief*.

[ENCLOSURE.]

The German Emperor to the German Empress.

BERLIN, *3rd June* 1876.—Although the most recent events at Constantinople have brought to a standstill the course of Eastern politics, for the present moment at least, and up to the time when the new Sultan and his Government shall have established their political programme; nevertheless I will still give you my opinion on the communication which Queen Victoria has made to you, and kindly wished that it should also come to my knowledge.

No one can be more fully convinced, than I am, of the Queen's desire to act, in this pending question, in harmony with the other Great Powers. Should she now have discovered that the proposals which we have agreed upon do not seem likely to secure the expected result, I cannot find fault with her, though it must be observed that after long and mature discussions we failed to hit upon a more appropriate form. On the other hand, however, we should have wished to receive from the Queen's Ministers some *counter-proposal* which, in *their* minds, promised with more success to pacify the contending parties.

Now as regards the second point, viz. England feeling hurt at not being invited to participate in the Berlin Conferences, before, or whilst they were assembled, it must be borne in mind that precisely the same practice was observed *now* as on the previous meeting, when the three Imperial Powers first came to an agreement amongst themselves, and afterwards, with a request to join, communicated their resolution to the other Powers.

The disturbances in the Balkan Peninsula had the most vital interest for Austria and Russia, because of their close proximity, and partly on account of religious sympathies, and Germany was only called to join in consequence of the agreement come to in 1872 at Berlin: "that all important political questions should, as far as possible, be discussed *à trois*."

The present Berlin proposals differing not very considerably from those which were put forward in last winter, we had good reason to expect that England would be prepared to join now, as she did then.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, *4th May* 1876.

MADAM,—I mentioned in my last letter to your Majesty, the general reasons which at that time induced me to think it might be on the whole best not to summon a great Durbar of the Native Chiefs and Princes (as I had first thought of doing) for the purpose of giving special solemnity and importance to the proclamation of the title which your Majesty has assumed with special reference to your Majesty's Indian Empire.

A careful perusal, however, of the very painful (and in my humble judgment very unpatriotic and impolitic) discussions which have since then, so unexpectedly, been raised in Parliament on the Royal

Titles Bill, has entirely altered my opinion. After long and anxious consideration of the whole subject, aided by consultation with those persons who are best acquainted with native character and sentiment, I am persuaded that it is now essential for the dignity of your Majesty's position and the public vindication of the step which your Majesty, I think most wisely, has taken, not only that the new title should be proclaimed in India with the utmost possible ceremony, but also that the proclamation of it should be accompanied with certain acts of grace—of such a character as to satisfy the loyal expectations, and rouse the enthusiasm, of your Majesty's Indian subjects, more especially of what I may call the native aristocracy of this country, whose sympathetic and cordial allegiance is no inconsiderable guarantee for the stability and repose of your Majesty's Indian Empire. . . .

I am convinced that your Majesty's new title may be made the means of arousing a quite unprecedented enthusiasm throughout the whole of native India—an enthusiasm which cannot fail to react most beneficially on public opinion in England, and which will refute in the most convincing and conspicuous manner all the unscrupulous criticism by which the measure has been so prematurely attacked. But the mere assumption of the new title will not suffice to produce this result. Everything will depend on the manner in which the meaning of it is brought home to the imagination, and the hearts of your Majesty's Indian subjects. The enthusiasm of Asiatics is never spontaneous. The popularity of your Majesty's new title, in this country, although a genuine, is still a passive, not to say a *latent* sentiment. It requires to be judiciously stimulated into active expression; and this cannot be done by the mere official announcement of it in formal circulars. The Princes and people of India do not feel and reason like the vestrymen of Marylebone. They are unable to suppose that the Prince of Wales could have left England to visit this country, or that your Majesty could so shortly afterwards have publicly assumed a title which your Indian subjects have always spontaneously and instinctively accorded to your Majesty, without some special political purpose; and they are disposed to hope and expect that this purpose when more clearly revealed will prove beneficial to their own interests. If, however, the Government of India appears to attach no political importance to your Majesty's new title, if it be only announced as a mere technicality, and the interpretation of it be left to such commentators as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe, then there will probably be a reaction of disappointed expectation which may perhaps be positively mischievous. . . .

Roughly speaking, what I propose is—first, to announce with all possible state and ceremony, in a great Durbar, to the native chiefs and princes, on the 1st of January next, your Majesty's assumption of the Imperial title with special reference to India. Secondly, that I be authorised to announce also on the same occasion that your Majesty, wishing to mark the gracious motives by which she is actuated in assuming this title, and to commemorate her assumption of it by public evidence of her regard for the hereditary nobility of her Indian Empire, is pleased to sanction—say, some such acts of grace and favour as the following: 1. The addition of one gun to the salute of those princes who are not at present entitled to more than a certain number of salute guns. 2. To the others who already possess the full complement (which cannot of course be increased) the presentation, in her Majesty's name, of a golden or a silver gun (these guns I have ascertained do not cost much and they are highly valued) with an appropriate inscription on it. 3. The presentation to all the principal chiefs and princes of a special silken banner, bearing their own arms, and the date of this event—also with an appropriate inscription or symbol. 4. The establishment of a

Heralds' College at Calcutta, for the legislation and organisation of a Native Peerage of the Indian Empire specially identified with the Imperial Crown of England, as the fountain of all honour, and 5. Permission to native princes to attend the Legislative Council whenever they visit the Vice-regal Court, with the title of Honorary Member of the Legislative Council *after* attendance during a certain number of years. 6. The distribution of a moderate amount of largesses to the poor, and sweetmeats according to Indian custom, in the chief Presidency towns in honour of the occasion. . . .

Your Majesty's Indian Government has not hitherto, in my opinion, sufficiently appealed to the Asiatic sentiment and traditions of the native Indian aristocracy. That aristocracy exercises a powerful influence over the rest of the native population. To rally it openly round the throne of your Majesty, and identify its sympathies and interests with British rule, will be to strengthen very materially the power, and increase the *éclat*, of your Majesty's Indian Empire.

I think we have hitherto relied too much for popular gratitude on the great improvement we have undoubtedly effected in the position of the ryot, by means of costly canals and irrigation works which have greatly embarrassed our finances, and are as yet so little appreciated by the Hindoo rustic that they do not pay the expense of making them. If we have with us the princes, we shall have with us the people. . . .

I have the honour to be, Madam, your Majesty's devoted servant and subject, LYTTON.

Queen Victoria to Lord Lytton.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 15*th June* 1876.—The Queen has to thank the Viceroy for his most interesting letter of the 3rd [4th] May, from Simla, full of most important and interesting matter. She, of course, cannot give any decided opinion on the subject, beyond that she entirely agrees with him that the celebration of her assumption of the title of Empress of India *ought* to be marked by some "acts of grace."

She has sent his letter to Mr. Disraeli, asking him to communicate it to Lord Salisbury.[1] The Queen is glad that his excellent address was so well received, and that the commencement of his administration has been so favourable. But the depreciation of silver and other matters must naturally cause him anxiety. . . .

The conduct of the Opposition in England, on the Royal Titles Bill, the Queen can only call factious, and she grieves to add unpatriotic.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Extract.*]

POTSDAM, 13*th June* 1876.— . . . Fritz had a long conversation with Prince Bismarck two days ago, and I was to tell you, that Prince Bismarck said it was his wish that England should entirely take the lead in the Oriental question, and that he was quite ready to follow and back up whatever England proposed. I hope that the opportunity may be seized of the two countries acting in concert, England making proposals for what is to be done. . . .

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

[*Draft.*] BALMORAL, 18*th June* 1876.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—In returning to you this interesting record of your conversation with Count Schouvaloff, I am commanded by the Queen to observe that her Majesty cannot avoid regarding the future with some anxiety. England is at present looked upon as giving its protection to the Turks; and the disaffected Christians, who are beginning to hate the English as their enemies, naturally turn for assistance to Russia.

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[1] Mr. Disraeli told the Queen, in a letter on the 18th, that he and Lord Salisbury were of opinion that "the general scope and design of Lord Lytton's proposal and policy are good"; that they were both "in communication with Lord Lytton on this matter, which, if well managed, will give strength and lustre to the Imperial policy, and produce an effect in England as well as in India."

The Queen thinks it would be very desirable to make the Sultan's subjects understand that we wish for the amelioration of the condition of all classes and sects in Turkey, that we do not dissent from the other Powers in our anxiety to maintain peace, and that we have no intention of making the state of the Ottoman Empire a cause of quarrel with Russia. They should understand that the interests of Russia and England are not antagonistic, and that any attempt on the part of the Mohammedans or Christians to seek for aid against each other would be condemned by both Powers. The Emperor of Russia would doubtless be well disposed to assist us in checking these tendencies in Turkey.

The Queen is well aware how carefully you are watching the progress of events at Constantinople, where unforeseen circumstances arise at every moment. She has approved of your despatch in which you hint that some Powers have not done their best to prevent assistance being given to the insurgents. Therefore her Majesty in making the above remarks does not desire to urge upon you any particular course of action, but with her anxious wish to prevent the remotest possibility of a quarrel has commanded me to point out what she fears may be a serious danger before us.[1]

Endorsed by the Queen:

Most entirely approve.—V. R.

The Princess Louis of Hesse to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

DARMSTADT, 23*rd June* 1876.— . . . Yesterday again the Emperor Alexander spoke to me, really rejoicing that the political complications were clearing peacefully—"dites à votre Mama encore une fois, comme cela me réjouit de savoir comme c'est elle qui tient à la paix; nous ne pouvons, nous ne voulons pas nous brouiller avec l'Angleterre. Il faudrait être fou se penser à Constantinople ou aux Indes!" He had tears in his eyes and seemed so moved, as if a dreadful weight was being lifted off his mind, so happy for the sake of Marie and Affie too, that matters were mending.

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[1] Lord Derby's reply is printed in full in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi ch. 1.

He showed me after dinner the buttons you gave him, spoke also so affectionately of Bertie, how he had heard from all sides how personally Bertie had understood to win all hearts by his courteous, kind manner, and how he rejoiced at the success of this wonderful journey. . . . ALICE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th June* 1876.—At five, after having tea, drove with Beatrice and Janie E., below the South Terrace, very near the summer-house, where Christian and his children, the Household and others, stood, and I watched a game of "lacrosse" played by a team of 14 Canadians and 13 Iroquois Indians. They were first presented to me by Mr. J. Lowther, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and their captain, Dr. Beer, said some words, to which I replied. Then the Indians, who had most curious names, came up, headed by their chief, a very tall man, and read a long address in the Iroquois language, with much emphasis, having first placed his tomahawk on the ground before me, in sign of submission. They were strangely painted, and some were very dark. They wore coloured feathers on their heads, and sorts of *tricots* like acrobats. I gave to both Canadians and Indians, each, one of my signed photographs. The latter begged to offer a basket of their manufacture to "our good mother," as they call me. They reminded one of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. The game was very pretty to watch.[1]

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *3rd July* 1876.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I have heard nothing in confirmation of the report of the Grand Duke Vladimir being with the Servian Army. I suspect it is—like the massacre of 30,000 Bulgarians by Turkish troops which lately appeared in the *Daily News*—one of those fictions by which insurgent leaders try to keep up the spirit of their followers. But I will let you know if any fresh light is thrown on the matter by letters or telegrams. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th July* 1876.—Forgot to mention that Lord Odo Russell came to see me this afternoon and stayed nearly an hour. He was most sensible about Eastern affairs, thought the moment very alarming, but that we should pull through it; that Bismarck was really anxious to go with us, that he thought Lord Derby had hardly taken sufficient advantage of his overtures in the winter, that we had not been asked to join with the three other Powers, as Mr. Gladstone's policy had really made it appear as though England would never hold her old place again. Bismarck was amazed and fascinated by Mr. Disraeli's wonderful quickness and his large views on foreign affairs. Lord Odo is probably going to Kissingen to see Bismarck, before he returns to Berlin.

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[1] Lord Dufferin, writing on 31st July, told the Queen what a very deep impression had been made upon the minds of the lacrosse team "by your Majesty's extraordinary condescension and kindness to them during their visit to England. These feelings are shared by the whole Canadian people, and the compliment thus paid through their representatives to the Dominion has been most enthusiastically appreciated."

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

JUGENHEIM, *le* 22 *Juin*/4 *Juillet* 1876.

MA CHÈRE SŒUR,—J'ai été très heureux de voi que vous avez apprécié mes efforts pour réunir le concert des Puissances en présence de la crise actuelle de l'Orient. J'ai toujours vu dans ce concert le meilleur moyen de préserver la paix générale et les intérêts d'humanité si fortement compromis dans ces complications. L'Angleterre y a sa place marquée. Je vous remercie d'avoir contribué à l'y maintenir. La tâche qui s'impose aux Puissances n'est pas facile. Elles n'ont pas réussi à empêcher en Turquie un conflit qui causera une grande effusion de sang. Elles peuvent beaucoup pour en accélérer le terme et surtout pour en préserver l'Europe. J'espère qu'elles y réussissent si elles restent unies.

En tout cas j'éprouve le besoin de vous exprime toute ma gratitude pour l'influence personnelle qu vous avez exercée dans ce but qui, je le crois, est u intérêt commun à toutes les Grandes Puissances.

Veuillez recevoir, ma chère Sœur, les assurance des sentiments que vous me connaissez. Votre bo Frère, ALEXANDRE.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *7th July* [1876] (*Frida night*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to you Majesty:

It is not easy to reply to the Emperor's letter, for it is essentially general and vague. To answer exactly in the same vein might have an appearance, if not of insincerity, at least of mere form. Would it do to take this opportunity of placing the real state of affairs before his Imperial Majesty, which Mr. Disraeli thinks your Majesty might do briefly, and in a spirit of friendship?

As, for instance, your Majesty is happy in feeling that you may have contributed to the great cause of European peace in co-operation with your allies.

That the *six* Powers may have perhaps interfered in the affairs of Turkey a little too hastily—prematurely perhaps—but the course of events extricated them from a difficult position, and induced them to fall back on the principle of non-interference. The consequence of this non-interference is general neutrality, which your Majesty trusts will be strictly observed by all, so that, if it be necessary, hereafter, for the Powers to take any steps, there may be a complete understanding between them.

Mr. Disraeli apologises for these rough suggestions, which perhaps, with your Majesty's tact and knowledge of affairs, might be moulded into a not unprofitable memorandum.

Mr. Disraeli doubts whether the simple truth of the situation is placed before the Emperor by Prince Gortchakoff. The Prince is piqued; what he exactly means, except generally to depreciate your Majesty's Ministers, Mr. Disraeli does not know. Mr. Disraeli doubts whether, at any period, the policy of this country was ever more decided, or more prepared for any contingency. As for Mr. Canning, there never was a Minister whose despatches were more addressed to the feeling of Parliament; as his highly finished despatches prove.

In conclusion Mr. Disraeli would take the liberty of observing that he is not surprised that Prince Bismarck, a few weeks ago, should have described Prince Gortchakoff, to a friend of Mr. Disraeli's, as "an old coxcomb."

Queen Victoria to the Emperor of Russia.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9 *Juillet* 1876.

MON CHER FRÈRE,—Je vous remercie bien sincèrement de votre bonne lettre, à laquelle je m'empresse de répondre.

Je suis heureuse de penser que j'aie pu contribuer, de concert avec mes Alliés, au maintien de la Paix Européenne. Il se peut que les six Grandes Puissances soient intervenues un peu prématurément, peut-être, dans les affaires de la Turquie; mais le cours des événements les a extriquées d'une position difficile, et leur a permis de revenir au principe de non-intervention, dont la conséquence est une neutralité générale, qui sera, je l'espère, strictement observée par tous. De sorte que, si plus tard il devenait nécessaire de prendre quelques mesures, elles puissent être décidées d'un commun accord. Croyez-moi pour toujours, avec les sentiments d'amitié sincère, votre bonne et affectionnée Sœur, V. R. & I.[1]

Memorandum by General Ponsonby.

8th July 1876.—In June the Queen spoke about the reported cruelty of some irregulars employed by the Turks. Mr. Disraeli replied that the statements were not authenticated, that Sir H. Elliot had only alluded to them as if exaggerated, and that we must wait for further information.

The Queen repeatedly spoke, wrote, and telegraphed on the subject.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th July* 1876.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—In Sir Henry Elliot's private letter to you of the 29th of June, he writes of the employment of Bashi-Bazouks as being justifiable.

If these were simply irregular troops no objection could fairly be made to their aiding the Turkish Army. But it is notorious that they are wild bands of undisciplined men who are let loose upon the inhabitants.

Whatever sympathy existed in this country for the Turkish Government is becoming weaker daily, and the atrocities reported in Bulgaria will go far to obliterate all feeling on behalf of the Turks. The Queen protests most strongly against this aggravation of the horrors of war, and considers it the duty of this country to warn the Porte that these atrocities cannot be tolerated, and that if these Bashi-Bazouks are thus employed by the Turks, without restraint, it will be necessary for us to withdraw our countenance from them altogether. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

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[1] This letter, based on Mr. Disraeli's suggestions, was seen and approved by him at Windsor on the 8th, as the Queen records in her Journal on that day.

The Earl of Derby to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th July* 1876.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I note, and will act upon, what the Queen has said in your letter received yesterday as to the employment of Bashi-Bazouks. We cannot prescribe to the Porte the precise nature of the troops it shall employ in defending itself against invasion: irregulars must be used when regulars are not to be had: but it is quite fair to point out the mischief which the Porte does to its own cause, as well as to that of humanity, by not enforcing proper discipline among the troops whom it employs, whatever may be their character or organisation.

I am afraid in this war there is not much to choose between the two sides. We have not heard as yet of such a thing as a Turkish prisoner. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 14*th July* 1876 (*Monday morning*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty. . . .

He was employed a great part of yesterday in trying to arrive at some genuine information respecting these alleged "Bulgarian atrocities," but hitherto with little success. This was the reason he did not write yesterday.

The paragraph in the *Daily News* yesterday was evidently written with a purpose—to excite the Servian population depressed by defeat.

The Foreign Office have, since Monday, telegraphed four times to Sir H. Elliot, and have received no reply. F[oreign] O[ffice] accounts for this by holding that his Excellency is making enquiries on the spot by trusty agents. The fourth occasion was yesterday morning. But why does his Excellency not acknowledge the receipt of these messages ?

In the meantime, the Opposition are going to work the "atrocities" as a party question, and there is to be a great public meeting, with all the most red-hot politicians on the platform, and, of course, Lord Shaftesbury in the chair, pledging the country, as far as they can, to give no aid to Turkey either moral or material. Lord Shaftesbury is always ready to place philanthropy at the aid of faction, as he did in the "Titles Bill."

5 *o'clock.*—He has kept this open to give your Majesty late information.

The information respecting "the Bulgarian atrocities" has arrived from Sir H. Elliot, and it appears ample. Mr. Disraeli has not studied it, but it appears quite sufficient to allow him to make a very satisfactory statement on Monday next. Great exaggeration there has been no doubt, but the atrocities seem equally divided. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 21*st July* 1876.—Saw a most curious letter from Lord Odo Russell, who had been to Kissingen, where he met Bismarck. The latter was in a dreadful state of excitement, as the Emperor believed *we* were going to attack Russia and take Constantinople, and wished Bismarck to frame a note of remonstrance to the British Government. This he said he would rather resign than do, and urged Lord Odo to speak to the Emperor, which he did, succeeding in dispelling all his illusions.

The Duke of Edinburgh to Queen Victoria.

H.M.S. SULTAN, THASOS ISLAND, 31*st July* 1876.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—I should have written to you again much sooner, but I have been in the utter impossibility of either writing or sending a letter. Since my inspection, which occupied two whole days, we have been cruising at sea with the fleet, and I have had to be on deck the whole of the day from early morning, and a great part of the night, and when I do come below I am so exhausted with the fatigue and heat that letters are quite out of the question. . . .

You need not fear that I should say anything to anyone of what I wrote to you only about the difficulties out here, that was entirely between myself and you. But I assure you that you frightened me with Leopold of Belgium's proposal.[1] I had no idea, although I had often heard it mentioned, that there was anybody who seriously thought of it. I am sure I would sooner end the remainder of my days in China, to such a fearful prospect, and with the exception of China, I am sure Marie would quite share my feelings. . . .

I believe that the Emperor,[2] who is a man of the most sensitive feelings, is deeply hurt at all the unpleasant (to say the least of them) and untrue things said of him in the English press. You will have received the letter from him which at your wish I got Marie to ask him to write to you. Sir H. Elliot paid us a visit last week, but I did not gather much news from him. Ignatieff has gone on leave, and it is rumoured that he will not return, which I am sure would be a blessing to all parties concerned. . . .

To-morrow I have unfortunately to prosecute one of my men at a court-martial, for theft, which will be a very unpleasant task. One of my midshipmen, a nephew of Sir Rodney Mundy's, and his living image, broke his leg last night skylarking, and I was up with him till half past one, and up again at half past four when we exercised manning and arming boats, so you see we don't let the grass grow under our feet, and are not getting fat in consequence. I have one midshipman ill three weeks with fever, but he is the only person ill on board, but in a month's time, if we continue at Besika, ague and fever will set in on board all the ships, as the land winds begin now, and the ague comes fourteen days afterwards, and great care is necessary. . . .

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[1] To make the Duke of Edinburgh ruler of Constantinople. See below, p. 475.

[2] Of Russia.

Hoping that you will not suffer from the heat, and with best love to Beatrice and Leopold, I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, ALFRED.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

10*th Aug*. 1876.—I have been horrified by the details of the massacres in Bulgaria, which Mr. Baring admits already to have amounted to 12,000; and I cannot rest quiet without trying to do something to prevent further atrocities, which Sir H. Elliot in his telegram of yesterday thinks not impossible from the irregular troops. Pray consider at once what can be done.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 12*th Aug*. 1876.—A scorching heat. Breakfast in the tent, and all the grandchildren came. It was Lenchen's little Louise's fourth birthday. They seemed all very happy together. Sat out in the usual place. Read the articles in the papers about Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the Peerage.[1] Soon after coming in, saw the Duke of Richmond, then Mr. Disraeli (come for two nights), who appeared yesterday for the last time in the House of Commons. He expressed himself as most grateful for the honour to

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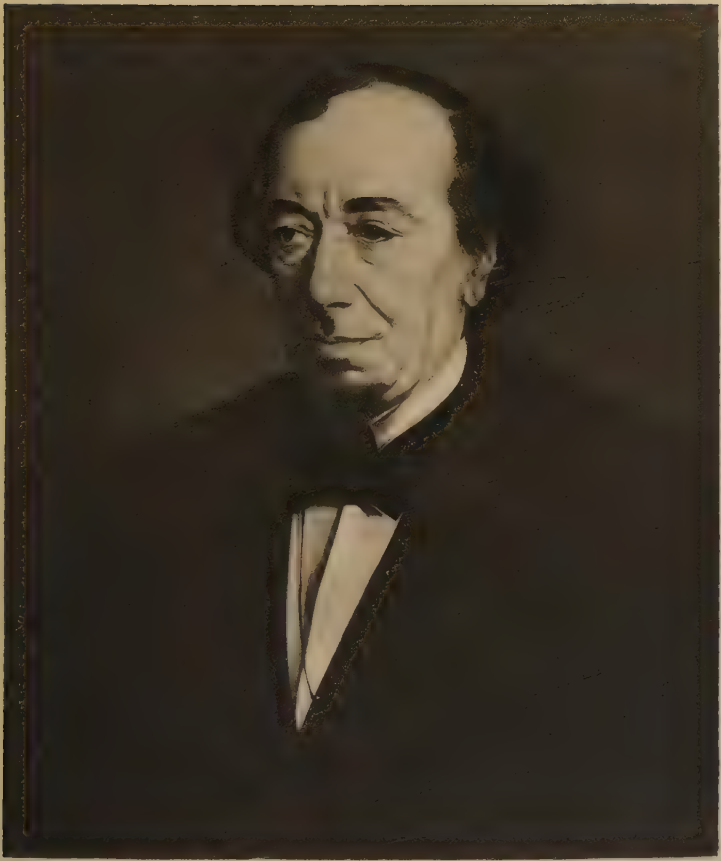
[1] As Earl of Beaconsfield. For correspondence and details, see *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 13.



Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield.
1877
From a picture by Von Angeli.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
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BRANCH

be conferred upon him. Saw the Lord Chancellor about a new Seal, retaining the old design, with which he entirely agreed. Held a Council, at which Leopold was present. It was for the Speech. Saw Mr. Disraeli again after luncheon. He had various things to talk of, was pleased with the state of affairs at home, but anxious as regards Eastern affairs. Mediation might at any moment be offered. No doubt Sir H. Elliot had been a little remiss in finding out about the "atrocities," but then he had been constantly ill. Mr. Disraeli and the Cabinet had insisted on a strongly worded despatch being written on the subject, and on very strong remonstrances respecting the cruelties.

BALMORAL, 23rd *Aug.*—More news of the horrors committed by the Turks, which seem to be more and more verified, and are causing dreadful excitement and indignation in England, or indeed in Great Britain. Constant telegrams arriving, giving most conflicting accounts. A mediation is most anxiously hoped for.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, *ce* 27 *Août* 1876.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—La bonne visite de Bertie nous a fait grand plaisir, ainsi qu'à tout le monde ici. Bertie a été, comme toujours, très aimable et très actif ; il a parcouru longuement l'Exposition, il a tenu à tout voir et à causer avec une foule de personnes.

J'espère que la guerre va finir en Serbie ; je souhaite que, la paix rétablie, les Puissances s'entendent pour régler la question d'Orient. Il est bien préférable de guider les événements. Pourquoi d'Allemagne, et d'Italie où l'on désire avoir Tunis, ne mettrait-on pas en avant l'idée de faire régner à Constantinople a fille de l'Empereur de Russie et votre fils, chère Cousine ? [1]

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[1] King Leopold had probably mentioned this idea to the Prince of Wales, who had reported it to Queen Victoria. See above, p. 473.

Ce serait une belle chose pour l'Empereur Alexandre, après avoir aboli le servage, de mettre fin à la domination Turque en Europe. Ce serait une belle chose pour votre Gouvernement que de confier le Bosphore à un Prince Anglais. Vos Ministres sont habiles, l'Empereur Alexandre est pacifique, n'est-il pas indiqué d'en profiter ? Il serait facile, je crois, d'amener par la presse un mouvement général de l'opinion en Europe en faveur de la solution du problème Oriental.

Au risque de rendre mes lettres d'une grande insignifiance je ne vous écris pas souvent sur la politique générale ; tel n'est pas en effet le rôle du chef d'un petit état. Si aujourd'hui je me suis départi de cette ligne de conduite, c'est que la combinaison dont j'ai pris la liberté de vous entretenir est loin d'être indifférente à l'avenir de la Belgique, qu'elle touche de près un Cousin que j'affectionne beaucoup et ajouterait une grande page à toutes celles qui forment déjà la glorieuse histoire de votre règne.

Pardonnez-moi l'écart que je me suis permis, et croyez-moi pour la vie, chère Cousine, votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 10*th Sept.* 1876.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He found Lord Derby yesterday in good cue ; clear in brain and firm in spirit ; not at all daunted with our difficulties, and, Lord Beaconsfield would even say, sanguine of overcoming them.

With respect, first, to the domestic difficulty.

Generally speaking, when the country goes mad on any subject, Lord Beaconsfield feels that, for a time, explanation is hopeless ; it is useless to attempt arguing the question ; it is absolutely necessary to wait till everything has been said in this one direction, and even, and often, repeated ; when the public, getting a little wearied at hearing the same thing over and over again, begins to reflect a little more calmly, and opinion often changes just as quickly as it began.

Gusts of this kind, therefore, are seldom dangerous in the month of September.

However, Lord Derby, having a golden opportunity, to-morrow, to speak to the country on the subject, we are willing to make an exception to the usual rule, and hopefully, and have agreed that he should avail himself of it, and if he executes what he intends, and what we settled, after long and deep consideration, it is not impossible that it may much influence public opinion. No one can state a case more lucidly, and in a more condensed manner. And he is exactly the person who, at this moment, the country would like to hear speak, if they would indeed listen to anyone whose views were apparently contrary to their passions.

Lord Beaconsfield will not dwell any more on this head, because your Majesty may, probably, become acquainted with Lord Derby's words as soon as your Majesty receives this letter. Now, with regard to the second point, the foreign difficulty.

The Porte has not yet refused the armistice, and Lord Derby, he thinks, is more sanguine of their accepting it, than himself. The difficulty, at all times great, is aggravated by several circumstances connected with the Diplomatic Corps at this moment.

At this moment, for example, it is of importance that we should have an understanding with Russia, and Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield have, both of them, from the first, shaped their course with that end. We really have no means of communicating with that Court. Schouvaloff is here, but is ill, or pretends to be—in his room, on his back; Lord Derby really believes bad gout, but the result is the same; he cannot see us, or do anything.

It is quite useless to communicate with Loftus. He was absurd in quiet times, but now that there is real business, he is not only absurd; he is mischievous. His despatches and his private letters are equally useless. He is a mere mouthpiece of Gortchakoff; imitates all his *tournure* of phrase and benign advice.

Then, as regards Germany, Lord Beaconsfield is disappointed, and here he disagrees with Lord Derby. Lord Derby, influenced by Lord Odo, says it is useless to communicate with Prince Bismarck, who maintains a rigid silence, because he really has no opinions on the matter. He watches events in which Germany has, comparatively, little interest, and he himself has only one object and one wish—that is to prevent the renewal of the Anglo-Franco alliance.

But Lord Beaconsfield submits that the business of Lord Odo is not merely to find out the plans and wishes of Prince Bismarck in this great matter, but, if his Highness has neither plans nor wishes, to instil plans and wishes into him, and to engage and employ the power of Germany in the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of English policy. What is the use of Lord Odo's abilities, if he does not do this? Lord Beaconsfield cannot approve of the absence of Lord Odo from his post at such a crisis, and he ought to see Prince Bismarck and see him frequently, and "consult" him.

Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to accept these remarks in profound confidence, for Lord Beaconsfield would be sorry to have the appearance of complaining of Lord Derby, or of Lord Odo; only he wishes your Majesty to know the state of affairs, as your Majesty has opportunities of making remarks which carry weight, and are considered, and generally attended to.

In the event of the Porte refusing the armistice, what then is to be done? That is your Majesty's natural and judicious enquiry. It leads to such vast discussion, that it is impossible, at this moment, to treat it in a becoming manner; but Lord Beaconsfield will say this, in all sincerity and duty to your Majesty, that Lord Derby and himself have deeply considered this possible contingency together in all its lights and bearings, and at present they have no fear of "drifting" into a war—and that too, while fully maintaining the honour and dignity of your Majesty and your realm.

Lord Beaconsfield says this much, that your Majesty should not for a moment apprehend that your Majesty's Ministers are confused and disheartened by the ill-starred events in Bulgaria, and their consequences. Had they not occurred, no doubt by this time they would have concluded a peace satisfactory to Europe and highly honourable to this country. It is a bitter disappointment, but must be met with firmness and resource.

Lord Beaconsfield looked upon the suggestion of the King of the Belgians[1] as one for his secret thoughts, and not for present discussion. It involves immense results. He is not neglecting it, and will take an opportunity of writing about it to your Majesty.

The Earl of Carnarvon to General Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

Colonial Office, 20*th Sept.* 1876 (5.18 *p.m.*).—News from Transvaal very important.

A meeting of Dutchmen already held for the purpose of offering the cession of the country and government.

Everything very critical and requiring immediate action. I propose sending, by steamer of Friday, Sir T. Shepstone with secret powers to accept the government under certain conditions. This is essential on grounds of policy, and to avert the possibility of a native war.[2]

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[1] About the Duke of Edinburgh and Constantinople.

[2] Five days before this telegram, on 15th September, Lord Carnarvon, writing to the Queen in favour of "immediate action," said: "If only the war [between the Transvaal and Sikukuni] can now be brought to an end, there is, Lord Carnarvon hopes, a very reasonable

Sir Theophilus Shepstone is Secretary of Native Affairs, on whose experience, capacity, and judgment I can entirely rely.

Please submit all this immediately to the Queen, and ask her Majesty's approval. Time is of extreme importance, so please telegraph answer. I am in communication with Prime Minister.

Note in General Ponsonby's handwriting:

The Queen's approval telegraphed. 20*th Sept.* 1876.—H. P.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

28*th Sept.* 1876.—The Queen has not yet replied to Lord Beaconsfield's three long and interesting letters. . . .

Hearing as we *do* all the undercurrent, and knowing as we do that Russia *instigated* this insurrection, which *caused* the cruelty of the Turks, it *ought* to be brought home to Russia, and the world *ought* to know that on *their* shoulders and *not* on *ours* rests the *blood* of the murdered Bulgarians! But it may not be *safe* to *show* Russia up yet, if we *wish* to act with her! Still, if Russia *has tried* to prevent Servia and Montenegro, as we *hear* now, from agreeing to this armistice, it would be most iniquitous and monstrous. The Queen therefore thinks a *direct* appeal should be made to the Emperor of Russia, and *that* is why the Queen telegraphed to suggest someone being sent to Livadia with direct communications from herself and the Government.

The Queen understands Lord Beaconsfield's motive for *not* expressing "horror" at the "Bulgarian atrocities."[1] She had only suggested a word

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prospect of bringing back the Transvaal under your Majesty's rule, and of carrying out the policy for which he has laboured during the last two years. For when once the Transvaal Republic becomes British, the Orange Free State cannot long maintain its independence."

[1] His view was that he had shown his horror at atrocities sufficiently in Parliament, and that he would forfeit his self-respect if he said more in deference to outside clamour.

of *sympathy* if an occasion offered, and she now leaves this entirely to Lord Beaconsfield's judgment.

She entirely agrees with him as to the admirable and energetic manner in which Lord Derby is conducting the negotiations and communications, and feels *sure* that in the *end* he will have the support of the *nation*. Indeed there are many of the Liberals, as we see, who are indignant at the short-sightedness and unpatriotic conduct of those who would make a *party question* of such a momentous crisis as the present, instead of rallying round the Government to assist it in the *anxious* and delicate task of procuring peace without losing sight of the true interests of the great Empire.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, *2nd Oct.* 1876.—. . . I fear that the accounts from the East continue very unsatisfactory. The speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, and Professor Fawcett have done their work, have created the excitement throughout the country, which is called public opinion—and have given Russia more confidence, who now pours more officers, men, and money into Servia, and will not allow them to treat for peace.

It is really too bad, and makes my blood boil with indignation. I sincerely hope that the Government will hold their own, and not agree to an autumn session.

I wrote to Affie yesterday, and gave him my views pretty strongly on the question. The Emperor of Russia may not wish personally to help the insurgents, but it is simply absurd to believe that he cannot prevent his officers and soldiers from joining them. He is about the only Sovereign who can prevent his subjects from leaving their country without his consent. This is an undoubted fact.

Arthur has, I hope, been successful with the deer. I trust also that dear Alice continues to improve in health. Alix and the children are very flourishing, and send you their best love, and I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, BERTIE.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, *4th October* 1876.

MADAM,—I have been honoured by the receipt of your Majesty's most kind letter of the 7th September; and Lady Lytton and myself are looking forward with most grateful feelings to the arrival of your Majesty's gracious gift to our little son.[1]

Your Majesty's approval of the action which, after much consideration, and with the unanimous concurrence of all my colleagues in Council, I deemed it my duty to take in the case of Mr. Fuller,[2] is very precious to me.

The letter of the Government of India on that case has been much attacked by the Anglo-Indian Press, and somewhat misunderstood by *The Times*. But a lamentably large number of Anglo-Indians have not yet recognised the moral which I find in a curious little episode of old Persian history; the story of which is so short, and yet so significant, that I would respectfully ask your Majesty's permission to refer to it in my own defence. In the tenth century, Mahomet, the great Cham of Tartary, conquered Persia. A poor woman whose son had been murdered by some of the Cham's people, in the remote province of Irak, came before the Prince, and demanded from his Highness justice on the slayers of her son. The Cham, when he had heard her complaint, said, "How on earth, my good woman, can you expect me to do justice at such a distance?" To which the mother replied, "Well, if your Highness cannot do justice at such a distance, why on earth did you conquer at such a distance?" The story speaks for itself. . . .

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[1] The 2nd Earl of Lytton, to whom Queen Victoria became godmother; born 9th August 1876, now Governor of Bengal.

[2] Mr. Fuller, an English barrister practising at Agra, had cuffed a native groom and pulled his hair, for inattention to duty, and the man had died. The local magistrate fined Mr. Fuller 50 rupees; and when the matter was referred to the local High Court, that Court held that no further notice need be taken of the matter. Lord Lytton, with the assent of his Council, published a drastic minute on the subject in the *Gazette*. The publication, Lord Lytton told the Queen in a letter dated 6th August, "has provoked the anger of nearly all the English journals in India, who attribute it to a sentimental impulse of maudlin philanthropy, and denounce it as a libel on the English in India. On the other hand, it is hailed with satisfaction by the whole of the native press."

I fear that the Turkish question is entering into a very anxious and difficult condition. The Bulgarian atrocities are shocking enough, and sad enough, to need no exaggerating comment; but I cannot think that the solution of a most perplexing international problem, on the right solution of which such important English interests are depending, will be promoted by Mr. Gladstone's attempt to refer it to uninstructed popular passion. I watch with some anxiety the growing agitation of your Majesty's Mohammedan subjects in this country, in reference to our latest news both from England and Constantinople. There has been an immense and most influential gathering in Bombay, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Sultan, and drawing up, for presentation to your Majesty, a petition on this subject.

Similar meetings are being held at Peshawur and elsewhere throughout the Mohammedan portions of India; and the Mohammedan States on our frontier are also beginning to evince a corresponding agitation. As, up to the present moment, these meetings have been perfectly orderly in their proceedings, and loyal in their utterances of devotion to the throne and person of your Majesty, I have not deemed it justifiable or expedient to interfere with them. But if, either by the pressure of public opinion at home, or political difficulties abroad, your Majesty's Government should be forced into a policy of prominent aggression upon Turkey, I am inclined to think that a Mohammedan rising in India is among the contingencies we may have to face. I do not doubt what would be the result of it; for I am confident of our ability to put it down effectively and speedily. But we could only put it down by "blood and iron." And if the Turks should eventually be driven out of Europe into Arabia, their proximity, in that case, to Bombay, where we have a large and sensitive Mussulman population, would no doubt greatly increase the difficulties of your Majesty's Indian administration.

I hope your Majesty will not think me an *Uccello di cattivo augurio*. But your Majesty will see, by the report which I have the honour to enclose for your Majesty's information of one of these meetings, that Lord Northbrook was under an erroneous impression when he stated in a recent speech that your Majesty's Mussulman subjects in India are indifferent to what is happening in Turkey. . . .

Memorandum by the German Emperor.

[*Translation.*]

BADEN-BADEN, 8*th Oct.* 1876.—Queen Victoria is most anxious that I should give all the support in my power to England in her thrice-repeated demands on the Porte for the conclusion of an Armistice. In the same way as I strongly supported the previous demands made at Constantinople, I shall continue to do so now. The present demand is meant as an ultimatum, but no Power has as yet proposed what course should be pursued if the Porte again refuses the demands of Europe. An ultimatum, without a decided threat *en cas que*, can have no other result than the former proposals, viz. a refusal!

Again the Queen asks how one can justify the conduct of the Emperor Alexander in sending officers and men to Servia, and thus furthering her success while he continues to declare that he is maintaining peace. I can only say that this conduct of the Emperor pains me deeply. Nevertheless it is easy to give a reason for it.

For the last year the six Powers have been endeavouring to put an end to the constant shedding of blood in the Turkish Peninsula, and although the revolted Provinces took up arms against their lawful Sovereign, yet the six Powers—in consideration of the insurgents being *Christians*, and having been shamefully treated by the Porte—declared themselves in their favour, in order to obtain for them a more secure future. Russia has been, from the beginning, in a totally different and a much more interested position from that of the five other Powers, as the aforesaid Christians are members of the Russian Greek Church. Therefore the sympathy of the Russian people was early roused in favour of their co-religionists. The organisation for the relief of the wounded was a decided proof of this sympathy. However, as Servia gradually succumbed, and all Russia burned with eager fellow-feeling, the Emperor allowed—but unofficially—a number of soldiers of all ranks to join the Servians. The Emperor found himself placed in the painful alternative of not chilling the enthusiastic feeling of his subjects in favour of their unfortunate co-religionists, and at the same time of declaring his personal and political love of peace. Yet while he thus winked at the departure of trains of soldiers, he did not for a moment cease on the one hand from making proposals to the Powers for the pacification of the revolted provinces, and on the other hand from making the proposals of these Powers—particularly of England and Austria—as acceptable as possible to Russia, going even as far as to subordinate his own opinions.

If one wishes to take an impartial view of the Emperor's conduct one must acknowledge that he could not act otherwise. Above all, one must take into consideration that the revolutionary element had taken possession of the Russian national movement, and that it could only be kept down in Moscow, and in St. Petersburg, by the most energetic measures. It cannot be unknown to Queen Victoria, that on the occasion of these disturbances cries were uttered against the throne and the Emperor, because he left the co-religionists in the lurch. It is thus evident that one can only *pity* the Emperor Alexander for the painful position in which he finds himself, but one cannot *condemn* him!

News has just been received that the troops in the Odessa and Charkoff districts are being mobilised. This would bring into the field from 66,000 to 70,000 men.

The moment seems now to have come when one must force upon the attention of the Porte the importance of accepting an armistice in order that she may escape from the danger to which she is exposed on the part of Russia. This would be the best way for urging on the Porte the proposed ultimatum. Europe remains neutral.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

HIGHCLERE CASTLE, 10*th Oct.* 1876.—Lord Carnarvon with his humble duty to your Majesty has the honour to submit to your Majesty some considerations connected with the present condition of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. If your Majesty should be pleased to concur in these recommendations Lord Carnarvon believes that they will be found to be of advantage.

The difficulty which has arisen can be simply explained. The requirements of the Empire are outgrowing the Order; and it will be consequently necessary in some way to give extension to the Order. The Colonies are yearly increasing in numbers, wealth, political and social eminence: there are more and more persons who are desirous of obtaining some mark of your Majesty's favour and who in fact by public services in the Colonies deserve it. On the other hand, there are no longer honours enough to meet these legitimate and very desirable aspirations. At present there are in the ranks of the

K.C.M.G. and the C.M.G. only three and four vacancies, whilst there are very many persons, including three or four Australian Prime Ministers of character and position, on whom it would be desirable to confer such a distinction. Lord Carnarvon believes that there is not one colonist in the whole of South Australia who is possessed of the K.C.M.G.

Lord Carnarvon would therefore submit to your Majesty the following increase of the Order.

Under the present constitution of it the G.C.M.G. numbers 25, K.C.M.G. 60, C.M.G. 100. Lord Carnarvon would propose to increase the G.C.M.G. by 15; the K.C.M.G. by 40; and the C.M.G. by 50. The result will be for the future:

G.C.M.G.	40,	instead of	25.
K.C.M.G.	100,	,, ,,	60.
C.M.G.	150,	,, ,,	100.

This will be a very moderate increase; but Lord Carnarvon believes that it will be sufficient to meet the existing requirements and it will on all grounds be better to proceed cautiously rather than to make any excessive extension of the Order. It is hardly necessary for Lord Carnarvon to repeat here what he has often had the honour of saying to your Majesty, that it is difficult to do justice to the gratification which is felt throughout all parts of the Colonial Empire by the personal interest so constantly evinced by your Majesty in Colonial affairs, and the great public advantage that has resulted from the marks of favour and approval, which your Majesty has from time to time been pleased to confer upon the more eminent and deserving of your Majesty's subjects in or connected with the Colonies.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral, 17*th Oct.* 1876.—The difficulties to be solved are very great. On the one hand we have

Russia, who under the pretext of wishing to protect the Christians in the principalities wishes to obtain possession of a portion of Turkey, if not of Constantinople. On the other hand Turkey is in great difficulty from her Mussulman subjects, who will try to prevent her yielding to pressure in favour of the Christians.

In addition to these difficulties there is another and very serious one, viz. the Panslavonian feeling in Russia said to be protected and encouraged by the *Cesarewitch*, which may make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the Emperor to prevent the influx of Russian officers and soldiers into Servia, what we and Turkey have denounced as contrary to international law.

The point at issue now is the length of the Armistice. The six Powers proposed six weeks to the Turks, and *they* proposed, after much deliberation, *six months*. To this [last] we and all the Powers but Russia and Italy agreed.

Could not the same Powers who agreed propose a *compromise*—say *three months* instead of six weeks or six months ?

It is clear England *cannot fight for* the Turks, but we also cannot fight against them.

The much abused policy of *upholding* the Turkish Empire was merely to prevent Russia having Constantinople ! This we still never could allow ! What course is to be pursued to prevent it ?

It seems to me that the great object in view ought to be to remove from Russia the *pretext* for constantly threatening the peace of Europe on the Eastern or Oriental question. The only way to do this seems to me to free the principalities from Turkish rule and to unite them under an independent Prince, to make that united principality a neutral State. Nothing short of this will, I think, ever prevent a frequent recurrence of difficulties and alarming complications like the present.—V. R.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

GLASSALT SHIEL, 18*th Oct.* 1876.—The Queen received Lord Beaconsfield's very important letter[1] just before she left Balmoral for coming here (which causes *no* inconvenience, for any message can be brought her over in an hour and a quarter). The Queen, it is strange to say, had this very morning been telling Lord John Manners, what she wished him to convey to Lord Beaconsfield, and this was, that she thought an understanding with Germany was most important, and that she did not think, if it was put *before* the Emperor that a firm decided tone towards Russia would be an act of kindness and a help to the Emperor Alexander, the Emperor William would object, for it would prevent war.

The Queen further said that Lord John should remind Lord Beaconsfield of Prince Bismarck's reiterated wish and spontaneous offer to Lord Odo Russell in February and March, to *act with* us, and that Lord Beaconsfield and the Queen thought it was a thing to be accepted and acted upon, but that Lord Derby did not like it.[2] It strikes the Queen now, and will no doubt strike Lord Beaconsfield also, that it is much to be regretted that we did not *then* come to the understanding, which Lord Beaconsfield now proposes. Lord Beaconsfield will likewise remember the remarkable letter Lord Odo wrote in July, giving an account of his journey with Prince Bismarck, from Wiesbaden to Ems, and of his anger with the Emperor William at his extraordinary suspicions of England. That Prince Bismarck then said *he* would resign if the Emperor William persisted in his views, and that finally Lord Odo saw the Emperor and did away with those extraordinary ideas.[3] Prince Bismarck then again said he wished England to lead and he would follow.[4] All this Lord Beaconsfield will remember, and the Queen thinks this should be brought back to Prince Bismarck's mind.

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[1] Advocating a Treaty with Germany to maintain the *status quo*.

[2] See above, pp. 443, 444.

[3] See above, p. 472.

[4] See above, p. 464.

The Queen feels sure that Germany would be the safest ally in every way, and it might have the double advantage of preventing Bismarck from doing anything else and of going to war with France. It might also draw Austria towards us again. . . .

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 25*th Oct.* 1876.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty his respectful thanks for the letter from the Crown Prince just received.

He fears, however, that the wish of Prince Bismarck to act with England cannot be regarded as a fact. The Prince has been civil and friendly enough, but has shown no sign of any desire to take the course thus indicated. On the contrary, he declares his wish to meddle in the Eastern question as little as he can, and let Russia take her own course.

Lord Derby has not written to your Majesty during the last few days, because nothing appeared new in the situation; which is still, as before, perplexed and uncertain. France will not take much part, but on the whole inclines to follow the lead of Russia; desiring, however, peace to be maintained.

Italy sympathises with the anti-Turkish party, but is not inclined to move.

The Austrian policy is quite impossible to follow. Probably Count Andrassy is pulled two ways, by the military and Court party on one side, and Hungary on the other. He is, on the whole, favourable to Turkey, but his co-operation cannot be much relied on.

Prince Bismarck, as Lord Derby has said before, sees no German object to be gained by taking part in the contest, and would probably not be sorry to see England and Russia quarrel. He is understood to dislike the idea of a Conference, fearing that France and Russia might come together, and establish a closer union than he desires to see.

The Russian policy, Lord Derby believes, is unchanged from what it was; and from a national point of view, it matters nothing whether the Emperor heads the movement, or is dragged along by it. War is probably not desired, at least until it has been ascertained how much can be obtained by threats and the appearance of intending to go to war.

The last news, which seems to indicate that the armistice question is settled, is good as far as it goes: but endless troubles are behind. Is there to be a Conference? if so, on what basis? where shall it be held? and shall the Turkish representative be admitted to it or not? All these are questions which the Powers will have to answer, and which at present they seem disposed to answer in opposite senses. The attempt to settle matters peaceably must be persevered in to the last, but it does not seem a very hopeful one.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

POTSDAM, 25*th October* 1876.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I have just received your dear letter of the 21st with many thanks. I have shown it to Fritz, and am to tell you from *him* what he thinks, as he supposes you will prefer having an English letter to a German one, and I write our own dear honest language to you better than he can. You say Germany is with Russia: what does all this mean after Prince Bismarck's offers, messages, and promises?

We have no *precise* information as to how Germany is supporting Russia, but from what we can *gather* from different well-informed sources we have perceived the German Government gradually leaning towards Russia, and *not* towards England and Austria! It is sorely *against* Prince Bismarck's will and liking, I am sure, as he does *not* care for a *Russian* alliance; but an alliance he *must* have, being in the disagreeable position of having *always* to be on his guard against France. This spring he would have given anything for a hearty response to his overtures! he wanted to know *what* British policy was going to be, and he would have backed it up—he got *no* answer, or only what was so *very vague*, so that he said to himself, as indeed all Germany does, "There is *no* use in reckoning on England or going with her; she has no policy, will do nothing and will always hang back, so there is no help for it but to turn to *Russia*, though it be only a *pis aller* for a better alliance, and one more congenial to us, and more in harmony with our interests! Austria is too weak, too unsettled, in too shattered and precarious a state to be any use as an ally. The only strong Power willing to stand by Germany when she is in a pinch *is Russia*, therefore we must, whether we like it or no, keep on the best terms with her and serve her, so that she may serve us as in 1870." Surely Prince Bismarck is *not* to blame for this; it is only common prudence and good sense to make sure of having a strong friend when one is liable to be attacked any day! If Lord Derby had spoken out in the spring, and if the Berlin Memorandum had been accepted, matters would now stand differently. Bismarck wanted *England* alone to decide the Eastern question, play the first part, and have the *beau rôle* now taken by Russia, to my intense disgust. I think it is *not* too late now to come to a *satisfactory* and close understanding with Prince Bismarck, as at any moment Russia may go even a step farther than Germany can quietly agree to.

I hope, if *no* peace is come to satisfactorily now and the Russians occupy Servia and Montenegro, that *then England* will persuade *Austria* to occupy Bosnia, and England herself send Lord Napier at the head of the troops to occupy *Constantinople*, and the British fleet into the Black Sea; I am certain this would be the best thing! There would be no war. Turkey would carry out the reforms which were *enforced*; Germany could, I am sure, back up Austria and England, and Roumania, which is dying to be supported by England and Austria, would add to counterbalance any overweight of Russia. At *last* some arrangement could be come to which would be satisfactory and lasting! Fritz is so *very* strong on the matter, that he wished me to say *all* I could in support of this view. He has not seen Prince Bismarck lately. Could not a *special letter*, *message*, or person, though none could be so good as Lord *Odo Russell*, be despatched to Prince Bismarck? VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 26*th Oct.* 1876.—The Queen thanks Lord Beaconsfield for his kind long letter. She has heard from Lord Derby and she thinks that we *ought not* to let it be said, as Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy do, that they do not know *exactly* what our attitude and views are; this may be absurd enough, but still the Queen thinks a *little more explanation*, while it would take all excuse away from them, would do good. *Time* is being a little lost, she always fears.

1*st*–2*nd Nov.*—The Queen thanks Lord Beaconsfield for his note, written under the disappointment and depression of the startling news of the Emperor Alexander's rash and intemperate act.[1] It must have been anger at the Turkish victories, and possibly fear for the effect in Russia. It must have been his *own* act, from what Gortchakoff said to Lord Augustus, and General Ignatieff to Sir Henry Elliot. However, the alarm was but of short duration, and the armistice has been signed. But how can we *ever* trust the Russians? It will require great firmness combined with caution to conduct these negotiations, and some very strong measures of PRECAUTION OUGHT to be *taken* to *prevent* the possibility of these disturbances of the peace of Europe so often recurring. Should not advantage be taken of Austria's inclination to go with us? Germany seems unmanageable, but Austria has shown much more disposition to agree with us. Should not advantage be taken of this? Who could be appointed to attend the Conference? Would not Lord Lyons? he is a very good man. He knows Turkey well.

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[1] In instructing his Ambassador at Constantinople to deliver an ultimatum to the Porte, to be complied with within forty-eight hours. See Introductory Note.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *3rd Nov.* 1876.—A most satisfactory telegram, relating a conversation between Lord A. Loftus and the Emperor Alexander,[1] in which the latter speaks in the strongest terms of his determination to have nothing for himself, and to have no designs on Constantinople. I annex a copy of it. There was another recounting how affectionately he had spoken of his daughter, and how unlikely it was he should wish to bring about a war between our two countries, she having married a British Prince. Felt so relieved and grateful. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Emperor of Russia.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, *4th Nov.* 1876.—I learn with the liveliest satisfaction the sentiments you have expressed to Lord A. Loftus, and I ardently desire that our Governments may act cordially together for the maintenance of Peace.

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

LIVADIA, *6th Nov.* 1876.—Je vous remercie de votre télégramme; il m'a fait un plaisir véritable, et j'espère que nous pourrons marcher d'accord ayant le même but sansarrière pensées.

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[1] At Livadia.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Glassalt Shiel, Loch Muich, *6th Nov.* 1876.—By the Queen's telegram Lord Beaconsfield will have seen how entirely she approves of the decision of the Cabinet as to the Conference, and the selection of Lord Salisbury as representative at the Conference. She heard from Lord Derby yesterday about it, and answered him at once, and has to-day written to Lord Salisbury. But the task will be *very difficult.* As the Queen wrote to both the above-named Ministers, to be of any use, an arrangement *must* be come to, of a *permanent* and lasting nature, and will you be able to agree on the integrity of Turkey *without* including the *principalities*, and if you agree to *that*, how will you be able to secure them against a repetition of the ill-usage and oppression which was the ostensible cause of the insurrection, which has led to such alarming results? Could not the principalities be formed into *one* neutral State, under *a Christian Prince*? Lord Beaconsfield knows that this has always been the Queen's idea, though whether it is feasible she cannot tell. Unless something of this kind is effected, she fears we shall have similar disturbances and complications to those which so nearly have precipitated Europe into a war. . . .

7th Nov.—In the Queen's letter of yesterday, she omitted to mention two or three other things. First of all, *how* she felt sure Lord Beaconsfield *must* have seen the great advantage derived from having Lord Augustus Loftus at Livadia.[1] But it *ought* to have been done a *month* sooner.

Secondly, the Queen cannot *too* strongly repeat her opinion that we *ought* to be *prepared* for *mutual* concessions, or we shall not succeed in securing any permanent settlement.

Thirdly, Lord Odo shows but too clearly *how* impossible it is to come to any agreement with Prince

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[1] The Queen had urged that a British envoy should be sent to Livadia. See above, p. 480.

Bismarck. The Queen must own, she thinks worse of him than of Gortchakoff. . . .

BALMORAL, 10*th Nov.* [*Cyphered Telegram*].—I am anxious that my views[1] respecting the future Government of the Northern Provinces of Turkey should be communicated to Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury, and should be considered by the Cabinet.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

10 DOWNING STREET, 11*th Nov.* 1876.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The subject of your Majesty's cyphered telegram of last night has long, and much, occupied the thought of Lord Beaconsfield since the first intimation of an arrangement of the class indicated was suggested by your Majesty.

There is little doubt, if the state of the Ottoman Empire occasioned a war, and more certainly, if a long war, that peace would bring a redistribution of its territories. But at present the Powers are endeavouring to avoid war, and to secure peace on a common basis, and that is the "maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire." The Russian Government has just given in its adhesion to the Conference on this basis. It would, therefore, unless circumstances greatly alter, be impossible to contemplate the arrangement your Majesty asks us to consider.

But if circumstances were otherwise, your Majesty's advisers are of opinion that any attempt to create autonomous, or independent, or tributary States, protected by neutrality, would be fruitless. The examples of Servia and Roumania are instructive. One makes war at the command of Russia, and the other, though protected by the guarantee of Europe in its neutrality, was on the point of allowing the

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[1] No doubt the Queen is referring to her Memorandum of 17th October, given above, pp. 487–8.

Russian armies to march into Turkey through its alleged neutral dominion.

All these small States must be attracted to the great and rising military power in its vicinity, and must be absorbed by it.

It has happened before, and here history is most instructive and apposite in its teachings. When the Turks planted themselves in Europe, all that region which we know, or have known, as European Turkey was divided into independent States, that very "chain of autonomous States" of which we now so often hear. There was the Empire of Constantinople, the Kingdom of Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Servia, the Voivode of Wallachia, the Duke of Athens—and others, whose titles Lord Beaconsfield cannot now recall.

In little more than a century, the rising military power, that had planted itself in ancient Thrace, had absorbed them all but one—and then turning to that last, whose territories it had gradually reduced to "a cabbage garden," it attacked, and captured Constantinople.

The Russians now occupy a position similar to that of the Turks when they entered Europe. They are the great and rising military power. At present, Turkey yet commands resources which give her a chance of defending the lines of the Danube, and the Balkans, with some command of the sea, but any reduction of those resources must lead to her fall.

What one desires to see in her place is an European dynasty, strong enough to defend the river and the mountains, and with some maritime force, but with no such resources as would tempt her to aim at pre-eminence in the civilised world.

This may happen, but it is not the prospect now before us. A peace, which may last some years, is the utmost we can hope to accomplish, securing at the same time, for the population of European Turkey, such an amelioration of their condition as may prepare them, or their posterity, to be the becoming subjects of an European dynasty.

Lord Beaconsfield must apologise for this too long letter, but he wished to place his view fairly before your Majesty. He is now going to Sandringham for a couple of days, but everything that arrives will be instantly forwarded to him.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 13*th Nov.* 1876.—The Queen received Lord Beaconsfield's letter of the 11th, yesterday, and fears she can only concur in what he says as to the uselessness of now considering her proposal respecting a neutral Kingdom or Principality being formed out of the different smaller Turkish Principalities, as the maintaining of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire is to form the basis on which the Powers consent to enter the Conference.

But it is a sad look-out that this can only result in bolstering up a falling Empire for a time. Let it have its trial, and let us hope that if the trial does not succeed *without a war* a change of dynasty may be effected.

Queen Victoria to the Princess Louise.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, *November* 1876.

DEAREST LOUISE,—I return the Duke's[1] letter. He evidently is a complete follower of Mr. Gladstone, who seems (as you say) to have taken leave of his reason!

But this is not a question of turning out the Government or not. More serious and dangerous questions than that are at stake. Mr. G. has unfortunately *not* only injured himself in trying to injure the Government; he has done irreparable mischief in encouraging Russia and people *abroad* to think that we shall *never* fight or resist their encroachments and arrogance.

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[1] Of Argyll, Princess Louise's father-in-law.

And I can't overlook the way in which those who hold the language (from which I am sorry to say I can't exempt your father-in-law) have *played* the honour and interests of this country into the hands of Russia.

It is not patriotic and has nothing to do with Conservative or Liberal, or the general jealousy and dislike of Lord Beaconsfield, which is in itself very wrong when great national interests are at stake, and they might as well accuse me of untruthfulness as Lord Beaconsfield in his plain and perfectly faithful statement of the anxious and difficult negotiations, of which I am *completely cognisant.* Now far greater interests are in danger. *If* this agitation goes on, Lord Salisbury's most difficult task will be rendered almost impossible.

To me it is, I must say, utterly inexplicable and totally at variance with usage, for statesmen who have been in high office and who have *known* all the difficulties and anxieties of Government to behave as they have done.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

NEUES PALAIS, POTSDAM, 11*th November* 1876.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—Many thanks for your dear letter received by messenger.

I really do not think it is fair to say " the great man " has behaved very badly. At least I see no proofs of it, or of an undue, or unfair, favouring of the Russians, and I see no obstacle, in him, to England's and Germany's going together, nor, I am sure, does he wish for one.

The duplicity of the Russians increases from day to day, and no one can be a match for them, because no one possesses the art of saying a thing with so much *aplomb* and doing the very reverse. General Werder, who arrived two or three days ago with an autograph letter to the Emperor from the Emperor of Russia, said, quite simply and openly, that the Court were now going for five days to Moscow, that it was a most unusual and demonstrative measure; but that Moscow was now the centre of the agitation for war, and that there would be *great* demonstrations made there, to show the Emperor that he *must still* adopt more energetic measures.[1] General Werder, who is Russian to the backbone, made no secret of it that the Russians had *no* intention of having peace, that they *could* not *stop* where the matter now was, and that the warlike preparations were going on with great energy and rapidity.

What can it all mean? Evidently they *now* say, and personages even *think*, that is to say, the Emperor does, that they do *not* want Constantinople, but perhaps in a few weeks they will say—circumstances have been stronger than we thought, and have forced us, etc., etc.

I am certain they want to make tributary States of Roumania and Bulgaria, which will be as good as Russian, then they can cook up a fresh question whenever it suits them, as they raised *this* one, and wantonly *pushed* the Servians into a war. The *next* time perhaps the Russians will find the opportunity for taking Constantinople *better*. Lord Salisbury's choice seems to be an excellent one, as he is a clever, quick, and energetic man. . . .

Good-bye, dearest Mama, God bless you. Kissing your dear hand, and thanking you for your dear letter, I remain, ever your most dutiful and affectionate daughter, VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 18*th Nov.* 1876.—The Queen is very sorry that Lord Salisbury has to leave before her return; but if she had (as at one time she thought of doing) even settled to leave yesterday, she could not have done so, as floods below Perth have carried away railway bridges and made it impossible to move for a few days.

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[1] It was during this visit to Moscow that the Emperor said that, if he could not get the necessary guarantees from the Porte, he was determined to act independently.

The state of affairs is very critical and Lord Derby seems to feel that "divided opinions at home" will paralyse the acts of the Government.

The Queen, however, thinks that this must not deter us from doing what really *is right*, viz. to prevent Russia from having the upper hand in the East, and to make it clear that any occupation of Turkish territory will be instantly followed by a like act on our part, as we can never allow Constantinople to be occupied by Russia. The Queen is sure that whatever language (and she can hardly trust herself to say what she thinks of the conduct of certain people in the opposition) may be held from violent party feeling, *all really* sensible people of *all classes* and all opinions in the country, would never for an instant stand our honour and interests being sacrificed for the sake of Bulgarian atrocities.

The Queen trusts therefore that Lord Salisbury will be very firm on this point, and she feels sure that the Cabinet will feel this, and that the honour and interests of her great Empire will be secure in his hands.

On the other hand, we must equally be prepared to agree to satisfactory guarantees on the part of all the Powers, of measures for the good treatment and security of all the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Lord Salisbury ought to have full *powers* to act as he feels is necessary to obtain both these results. The Queen trusts he will be able to impress on the Emperor of Germany how important it is that all the Powers should keep together, and how desirous we are of a good understanding with Russia.

The Queen would be glad if Lord Salisbury would occasionally write to her; Lord Clarendon did so during the Peace Conference in Paris, in 1856.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 18*th Nov.* 1876.—Lord Carnarvon submits with his humble duty to your Majesty, that looking to the fact that Sir H. Barkly's tenure of office at the Cape expires with the close of the year, it becomes necessary to appoint a successor to him. Under the present peculiar and difficult circumstances it is of the highest importance to secure qualities of the highest order: and Lord Carnarvon would submit to your Majesty's gracious consideration the name of Sir B. Frere. Lord Carnarvon has reason to think that, if approved by your Majesty, Sir B. Frere would undertake the task; viewing it, as indeed in his case it ought to be viewed, as a special one. In Sir B. Frere's long experience, general ability, and conciliatory temper, Lord Carnarvon believes that the best securities for obtaining a satisfactory result will be had. He trusts that your Majesty will approve of his recommendation. Should your Majesty concur he would propose to delay the announcement for a few days until he has had time to prepare Sir H. Barkly for his successor.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27*th Nov.* 1876.—Janie E., Lord and Lady Derby, the Wellesleys, Lord F. Kerr, and Colonel Gardiner dined. Lord Derby sat next to me and was most amiable. He fears very little will be done by the Conference, that nothing is to be expected from Bismarck; he says he knows "his price," viz. the guaranteeing the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. But he had still hopes of Austria. He spoke calmly of everything. I asked what would happen should the Russians cross the Danube? "Wait a little and see," and not act in a hurry. He thought they would not find it so easy. We might have to occupy Constantinople. Lord Derby praised Sir H. Elliot and said (which is quite true) that he had been very unjustly used. Whatever might occur, he saw no end to the question at present, and feared that it would continue "in a chronic state of crisis."

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[1] The Queen accepted the nomination with some reluctance, as it meant the loss of Sir Bartle Frere's services in England. Lord Carnarvon, writing on the 23rd November to her Majesty, said: "One very powerful reason with [Lord Carnarvon] for desiring Sir B. Frere's presence at the Cape is the conviction that he may be almost invaluable in settling on a humane and satisfactory basis the difficulties of the native question. Lord Carnarvon can trust Sir B. Frere's *humanity* and real interest in the welfare of the native races not less than his ability; and the present is a critical moment for South Africa."

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, *30th Nov.* 1876.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He sadly omitted to submit to your Majesty the "*earnest wish*" of Lord Salisbury, that your Majesty would institute an Indian Order, inferior to the *Star*, and consisting of only one degree. Lord Salisbury has mentioned this subject more than once to Lord Beaconsfield; but, not having written down his wishes, Lord Beaconsfield unhappily omitted to mention them to your Majesty.

Lord Beaconsfield believes that the institution of a secondary Order in India would be a very wise step, and particularly so at this moment. . . .[1]

[*15th Dec.* 1876] (*Friday, 3 o'clock*).—Lord Beaconsfield . . . has just received your Majesty's telegram. He had sent a box to your Majesty this morning, and which could not have been received before your Majesty's telegram was written.

He has just, and again, seen Lord Derby. They consider the preliminary Conference virtually settled. The difficulty, *now*, is with the Porte, and the difficulty will be great. It is impossible for England to join in coercing the Porte. It would be damaging to our honour; fatal to our interests: Navarino over again.

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[1] The Order of the Indian Empire was instituted in connection with the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.

The occupation—even by soi-disant "*police*"—will be difficult for Othman to digest. The Russians were prepared to waive this, had it not been for the St. James's "Conference."[1]

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR, 18*th Dec.* 1876.—The Queen thanks Lord Beaconsfield for his letter, and truly rejoices at the *prospect* (she fervently hopes) of a successful termination of the Conference. She trusts that this will confound those *disgraceful proceedings* of public men who would hand over the interests and honour of their country and Sovereign to Russia!

It is *impossible* for the Queen to say what she *feels* at the *conduct* of Mr. Gladstone and others.

The Queen hopes that Lord Beaconsfield will not be annoyed, or rather more allow himself to be discouraged by the shameful way in which he himself has been attacked. He has shown immense forbearance, and his dignified silence carries great weight with it and gives him great power, but the unpatriotic and, she must call it, disloyal conduct of these people (and she *hopes* NOT of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington) ought to be exposed and condemned. The Queen gives him full permission to announce her intention of opening Parliament in person.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th Dec.* 1876.—Walked with Beatrice down to the Mausoleum and back. She has been very busy these last days sorting old music of mine, amongst which treasures have been found.

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[1] A great anti-Turk and pro-Russian demonstration held in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, on 8th December, at which Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Westminster, Canon Liddon, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and others spoke.

After my dreadful misfortune in '61, everything was left untouched, and I could not bear to look at what my darling one and I used to play daily together. Only within the last five or six years have I looked at my music again, and only quite lately re-opened my duet books and others. The past has seemed to rush in upon me in a strange and marvellous manner. Those notes and sounds bring back memories and scenes which seemed effaced.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd Dec.* 1876.—The Queen . . . thinks the decision of the Cabinet[1] a wise and prudent one. Especially the order that, if the Conference should unfortunately fail, Sir H. Elliot is also[2] to come away. Let us hope that the Turks will yield—though it is hard upon them.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

CONSTANTINOPLE, 23*rd Dec.* 1876.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits some observations as to the progress of negotiations.

The Russians have given up most of the matters to which objection was felt in England—the occupation by Russian troops—the disarmament of Mussulmans—the creation of a large Bulgaria—besides a number of smaller points—such as the forcible removal of the Circassians, and the confinement of the Mussulman troops to the fortresses. The difficulty is now to persuade the Turks to accept the terms which are offered to them.

In England, and in Europe generally, the promises of the Turkish Government are held to be of little value, unless there is some guarantee of their performance: and this feeling is naturally entertained more strongly by the Russians. They say that they will not be satisfied without some guarantee: and they have pledged themselves so deeply on this head that they can hardly recede. The guarantees that have been suggested are of a mild kind. The six Powers propose that the Governor and the Judges of the Supreme Court shall be named with the consent of the Ambassadors; and that the Governor shall be named for a fixed term of five years, and the Judges for life, and that for *one year* after the conclusion its execution shall be watched by a Committee of surveillance appointed by the Powers, who shall have a small guard of European soldiers to ensure their safety, and to form the cadres for the organisation of an efficient native gendarmerie. These are not onerous guarantees—especially as England is willing to assist in paying for the Guard. But at present the Turks absolutely refuse to listen to any of them.

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[1] Not to apply coercive measures to the Porte, in the event of its refusal to accept the proposals of the Powers.

[2] That is, as well as Lord Salisbury.

The Conference began in earnest to-day. It was very tiresome and very fruitless. The two Plenipotentiaries for Turkey are Safvet and Edhem. Safvet is Foreign Minister: a sleepy old man who can scarcely talk intelligible French, always loses his places, and, after much grumbling, puts to the vote the question that was decided half an hour before. The history of Edhem, the other Plenipotentiary, is a curious one. After the massacre of Chio, half a century ago, an officer serving in the Turkish island saw a very small child lying deserted on a rubbish heap. He took the little Greek and took care of it. When the Turks do not massacre children they are very kind to them: and Edhem grew up in the officer's home, and became of course a Mussulman. He gave himself to that religion with all the energy and intelligence of his race; and is, though a Greek by birth, one of the most fanatical Turks at the Porte. His temper is very violent: and he somewhat relieves the tedium of the sittings by insulting the Plenipotentiaries all round. They neither of them, however, show the slightest inclination to consent to any reforms, however moderate. The *séance* lasted four hours, and at the end of it nothing, except the prolongation of the Armistice, had been effected.

Those, however, who know best, entertain considerable hopes of a successful issue. Lord Salisbury would accept that opinion with little doubt—if it were not for the very shifty and unscrupulous policy of the Russians. It is easy to see that they have some plans in operation which are not consistent with their professions: and while these remain undiscovered, all favourable prognostics must be received with great reserve. They use secret service money very freely, and are thereby obviously able sometimes (though not always) to influence the policy of the Turkish Government materially. . . .

Archbishop Tait to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON, CROYDON, 29*th Dec.* 1876.—The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and ventures, as on former occasions, to lay before your Majesty the charge recently delivered at his visitation to the Clergy and Churchwardens of his Diocese.

This is now the fifth charge, or series of charges, which the Archbishop has delivered at intervals of four years since he was first appointed by your Majesty to the See of London, now twenty years ago. The difficulties which stand in the way of the Christian progress of the nation seem to be much the same as they were twenty years ago; but the Archbishop is encouraged to take on the whole a happier view for the Church and nation.

No doubt a compact assault is continually carried on by that not inconsiderable body of unbelievers, who, thinking themselves wiser than all who have gone before them, prove that they are not so by reviving old exploded objections to Christianity; and the result is a good deal of general unsettlement in matters of belief. But, on the other hand, the Archbishop knows that a wise and learned school of sound and liberal theology is being fostered and making much progress, principally through the exertions of Dr. Lightfoot and the other Divinity Professors at Cambridge.

No doubt also there is a noisy minority of wrong-headed clergy—very zealous, but very foolish—who are endeavouring to act as if there was no law in the Church; but the Archbishop feels confident that recent legislation has greatly strengthened the hands of those in authority, and he relies without any hesitation on the loyalty of the great mass of the clergy to the principles of the Church of England and the Reformation.

No doubt also there is a great deal of ignorance and vice, and the atrocious crimes sure to arise in so vast a population are painful to hear of; but Education—and that, religious Education—is making steady progress. The Church of England has done a noble work in this matter, and both within and without the Church the people seem determined that they will have the rising generation religiously brought up. Meanwhile throughout the country not only are immense sums expended in building both schools and churches, but both clergy and laity in almost every district are working heartily to advance Christian principles and Christian living amongst the people.

The Archbishop thinks it right to say that at no time within his memory have the Bishops been able to work so heartily together; and he believes that, notwithstanding the evils wrought in the country by intemperance, and the many obstacles which must ever stand in the way of real Christianity both in the upper classes and in the lower so long as this imperfect world lasts, the cause of Christ is steadily advancing.

The Archbishop hopes your Majesty will forgive him for thus freely laying his thoughts before your Majesty, at the end of the twentieth year of his episcopate. He desires at this Christmas season to assure your Majesty of his earnest prayers that all blessing may come upon your Majesty and all the Royal family, and especially that all anxiety as to Prince Leopold's health may soon pass.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XVI

On 1st January 1877, in a magnificent Durbar at Delhi, attended by all the notabilities of India and by representatives of neighbouring countries, and presided over by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, in state, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Kaisar-i-Hind, Empress of India; and was saluted by the Maharajah Scindia, on behalf of the Indian Princes, as Shah-in-Shah Padshah, Monarch of Monarchs. At home her Majesty was rendered anxious by the failure of the Constantinople Conference, where, in the middle of January, the Porte definitely rejected the final demands of the Powers, greatly reduced as these were and unanimously presented, for administrative autonomy in the Balkan provinces. The Queen opened Parliament in person, Lord Beaconsfield bearing before her the Sword of State; and both Houses, in spite of speeches from extremists on behalf of the coercion of Turkey, approved the policy of Ministers.

Meanwhile, Russia matured her plans. She secured her flank by a secret treaty with Austria, conceding to that Power the right, in certain eventualities, to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina; and she sent General Ignatieff, the Pan-Slavonic Ambassador at Constantinople, on an exploratory mission round the European Courts. On her initiative a Protocol was signed by the Powers in London on 31st March inviting Turkey to reduce its army to a peace footing, and to put in hand without delay the promised reforms, whereupon Russia would, in her turn, disarm. As the Porte refused this overture, and as the season for campaigning in the Balkans had now come, the Emperor Alexander on 21st April ordered his armies to cross the Turkish frontier.

Lord Beaconsfield's Government, while proclaiming British neutrality, made it clear that the neutrality was conditional, and they demanded, and obtained, from Russia definite promises that Egypt and the Suez Canal, the Persian Gulf, Constantinople, and the Bosphorus, the points where British and Imperial—not to say, European—interests arose, should be respected. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, submitted to the House of Commons early in May resolutions amounting to a pledge to support Russia in coercing the Porte. To secure the countenance of the official leaders of the Liberal party, he limited his proposals, when the discussion began, to a declaration that Turkey had forfeited all claim to British support; but the House, by 354 to 223, declined to embarrass the Government.

In the first months of the war the advance of the Russian troops in Europe was steady, and by the middle of July they held some of the passes in the Balkans and were already raiding Thrace. It looked as if the question of the occupation of Constantinople might rapidly become acute, and the Queen and Lord Beaconsfield were keenly anxious that adequate preparation should be made to enforce respect for British interests in that quarter. But the Cabinet were seriously divided; about half, of whom the most conspicuous were Lord Derby (with whose administration at the Foreign Office the Queen and the Prime Minister became increasingly dissatisfied), Lord Salisbury, and Lord Carnarvon, being reluctant to take any active measures. An energetic Ambassador, Mr. Layard, was indeed sent to Constantinople; as the Russian advance developed, the fleet was again despatched to Besika Bay, and the Mediterranean garrisons were strengthened. But the vote of credit which Lord Beaconsfield desired had to be postponed, and his ideas of an expedition to hold Gallipoli and of a despatch of the fleet to Constantinople, which were warmly approved by the Queen, did not find general favour among his colleagues.

At the beginning of August the tension was relieved, and the immediate menace to Constantinople removed, by the serious check suffered by the Russian arms before Plevna. Lord Beaconsfield immediately concentrated on preventing a second campaign; and the Queen and he sent a private message through Colonel Wellesley, military attaché in Russia to the Emperor Alexander, warning him that, if there were a second campaign, the neutrality of England could not be maintained. The Emperor expressed his thanks for this frankness, and prosecuted the existing campaign through the autumn with such vigour that Kars fell on 18th November, and that Plevna was taken, after more than four months' heroic defence, on 9th December. With the fall of Plevna the menace to Constantinople revived in the most urgent manner; and Lord Beaconsfield persuaded his colleagues, with some difficulty and a threat of resignation, in three Cabinets on the 14th, 17th, and 18th December, to agree to an earlier summoning of Parliament, an appreciable increase in the forces of the Crown, and a policy of mediation between the belligerents. On the 15th December, while these Cabinets were in progress, the Queen, to show her sympathy with, and confidence in, her Prime Minister, did him the exceptional honour of visiting, and lunching with, him at his country home at Hughenden. As the year ended, Turkey requested the Powers to intervene.

1877 was an important year for France. On 16th May, Marshal MacMahon, the President of the Republic, forced his Liberal Prime Minister to resign; installed in office an extra-Parliamentary and anti-Republican Ministry under the Monarchist Duc de Broglie; dissolved the Chamber in June; and then used all his personal influence and prestige, while his new ministry relentlessly applied the Government screw, to secure success at the polls. But the Republicans, under M. Gambetta's leadership, were equally active, and turned the funeral of the first President, M. Thiers, who died on 3rd September, into a great political demonstration. At the elections the Marshal was heavily defeated, the official members numbering only 199 against 316 Republicans; and, after a few weeks' futile fencing, he called once more to office a moderate Republican Ministry. In Germany the political feature of the year was that Prince Bismarck, while remaining Chancellor, lived, on the plea of ill-health, almost wholly in retirement at his country seat at Varzin. In the United States an Electoral Commission, appointed by Senate and House of Representatives to settle the disputed Presidential Election, decided by a strict party vote in favour of Mr. Hayes, the Republican candidate.

On the 12th April Sir Theophilus Shepstone, after spending some weeks in exploring the desperate situation on the spot, annexed the Transvaal, in virtue of a Commission from home, amid general acquiescence. The South Africa Bill, necessitated by Lord Carnarvon's scheme of federation, had considerable difficulty, along with other Government measures, in passing the House of Commons, as it was held up by the organised plan of obstructing public business, which Mr. Parnell and a handful of Irish Members introduced this session in order to force from the House the grant of Home Rule. To meet this policy some modifications of the rules of debate were adopted, and more were foreshadowed.

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CHAPTER XVI

1877

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1*st Jan.* 1877.—Never since my beloved Mother and Husband were taken from me have I spent this day here. May God bless this new year to us all, long preserve my dear ones, and help me to improve and do my duty! Gave and received many cards. My thoughts much taken up with the great event at Delhi to-day, and in India generally, where I am being proclaimed Empress of India, also with the grave anxieties about the Eastern question. I have for the first time to-day signed myself as V. R. & I.

Another and very unsatisfactory telegram from Lord Salisbury. The first full Conference had taken place. Midhat Pasha had declared that he had not even power to discuss the proposals of the six Powers, and that they must take time to consider. Lord Salisbury had seen Midhat and warned him of the extreme danger of their refusal, for they could not rely on England. Midhat answered "that he was resigned to the will of God if the Empire was to fall, but that no Turk would yield one of the points Lord Salisbury read over to him." Still it seems there is hope of their finally yielding, as is their way. They have adjourned to the 4th. Saw Lord Beaconsfield and talked over the telegrams. He considered matters very serious, but was not without hope. Whatever happened, the Government would stand very well with the country. He talked of some Church appointments, about which he was very sensible.

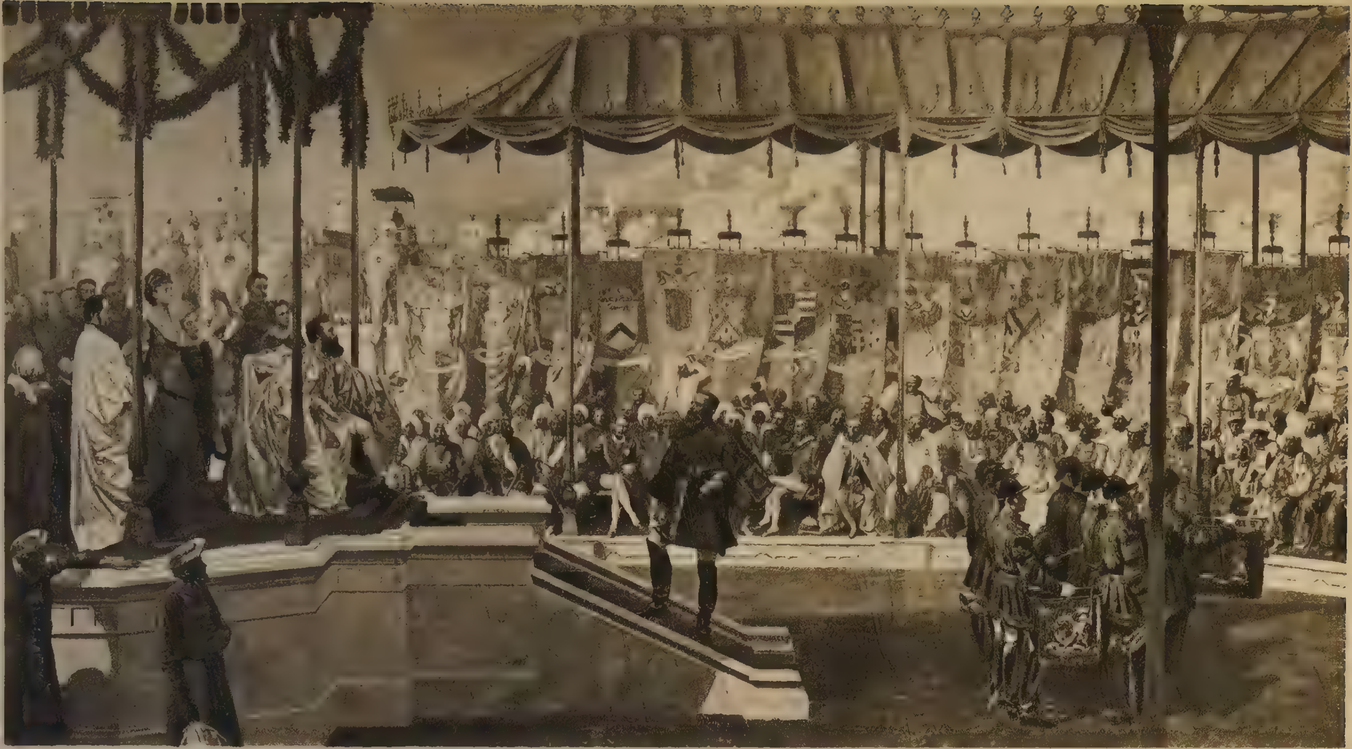
Lenchen and Christian, Janie E., Lord Beaconsfield, Lord George Hamilton ([Under-]Secretary of State for India), very pleasing and intelligent, Lord Dunmore, the Ponsonbys, Harriet P[hipps], and May L[ascelles] dined. I wore the Star of India, which I conferred on Arthur this morning, and some of the beautiful gifts brought back by Bertie. At dessert Arthur gave out my health as "Queen and Empress of India." Just before dinner I received two very long and gratifying telegrams from the Viceroy.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

IMPERIAL ASSEMBLAGE, 1*st Jan.* 1877.—The Viceroy presents his humble duty to the Queen. Her Majesty's title as Empress of India was proclaimed at noon this day upon the Plain of Delhi, with the most impressive pomp and splendour in an assemblage attended by fifty ruling Chiefs with their followers; a vast concourse of native Princes and nobles from all parts of India; the Khan and Sirdars of Khelat; the Ambassadors of Nepaul, Yarkand, Siam, and Muscat; the Envoys of Chitral and Yassin; the Governor-General of Goa and Consular body; all the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and chief authorities, military, civil, and judicial, of British India, besides an immense gathering of her Majesty's unofficial subjects of all classes, European and native. The flower of her Majesty's Indian Army was drawn up on the Plain, and made a splendid appearance.

At the conclusion of the Viceroy's address the Maharajah Scindia rose and spontaneously expressed the gratitude and pleasure of the Princes of India. His Majesty was followed by Sir Salar Jung, who, on behalf of the Nizam, spoke in English to the same effect, also by the Begum of Bhopal and others. Owing to the great width of the space intervening between the Viceroy and the assembled Princes, the Viceroy was unable to catch the precise words of these addresses, which he hopes to report to her



The Imperial Durbar, at Delhi.
1877
From a picture by Val Prinsep, R.A.

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Majesty this evening or to-morrow before leaving the ground.[1] The Viceroy received a written message from the Maharajah of Cashmere, expressing his great satisfaction at the tenor of the Viceroy's addresses, and adding, "This day will never be forgotten by me or my children, we shall ever regard it as an auspicious one, and the shadow of her Majesty's gracious Empire will be our chief protection." The youngest son of his Highness was one of the Viceroy's pages. On this occasion all the ruling Chiefs have intimated their intention of sending, for presentation to the Queen, separate addresses of congratulations and loyal devotion. Many of the native noblemen have also announced their intention of honouring the day by large subscriptions to British charities or the construction of important public works.

There can be no question of the complete success of this great Imperial ceremony. The weather has been most favourable. The Viceroy lays his humble congratulations at the feet of her Majesty, and earnestly prays that the Queen's loyal subjects, allies and feudatories of this country, may be to the Empress of India a New Year's gift of inestimable value in return for the honour which she has conferred to-day upon this great dependency of the Crown. The Viceroy trusts that it may please Providence to prolong for many years her Majesty's beneficent and prosperous reign.

Queen Victoria to Lord Lytton.

[*Telegram.*]

1*st Jan.* 1877.—I have received your most interesting and gratifying telegrams with the greatest satisfaction and pleasure. The picture[2] will be a most valuable record of this eventful day.

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[1] In this subsequent message the Viceroy reports Scindia's words as follows: "Shah-in-Shah Padshah, be happy! The Princes of India bless you and pray that your sovereignty and powers may remain steadfast for ever."

[2] A portion of the picture is reproduced in the illustration facing the previous page.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th Jan.* 1877.—Dear Albert Victor's thirteenth birthday. May God bless and guide him aright! Raining all day. Drove with Beatrice down through Eton over the Windsor and Eton bridges, where we saw the fearful height of the river, "a big water," as they say in Scotland, and many of the poor people's houses are full of water. Some have had to leave their beds in the middle of the night, and carry them away with them. The playing fields on both sides were one mass of water. There was a boat ferrying people across the fields, and a shed had been erected for them to wait in. Drove round by Slough and back again the same way.

A telegram arrived from Lord Salisbury with unsatisfactory prospects. The German Ambassador seems suddenly to be pushing for "a break," declaring he would be no party to any concessions, the Russians the same! Again this happens when all *seemed* on the point of being settled! It is most disappointing and annoying! Got a letter from Lord Beaconsfield and several further telegrams from Lord Salisbury. The Turks will hear of no concessions and nothing can be done in the Conference, only privately. The Germans continue to resist, evidently wishing for war. That monstrous Bismarck, it is all his doing! Another telegram from Lord Salisbury, saying someone was encouraging the Turks in believing, that, though he told them they would get no help, they could rely on Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby helping them! This is too bad. Though one cannot help having a certain feeling for the Turks, the strongest remonstrances have had to be used from here to refute this assertion, and the strongest assurances that no help can or ever will be given them, if they persist in refusing what we and all the Powers consider fair and just.

Queen Victoria to Archbishop Tait.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8*th Jan.* 1877.—The Queen must make many excuses to the Archbishop of Canterbury for not having sooner thanked him for his kind and instructive letter of the 29th,[1] as well as for his charge, which she does now sincerely.

She is glad to seize this opportunity of expressing to him her strong sense of the prudence, firmness, and conciliatoriness which he has exhibited during the twenty years, referred to in his letter, of his episcopate, the duties of which are so arduous and often so trying.

The present is no doubt a time of great anxiety, with its alarming spirit of unbelief and want of veneration on the one side, and with the intolerance and narrow-mindedness on the other. But she agrees with the Archbishop in hoping and thinking that Christianity will rise stronger than ever from this struggle! Unbelief can only be met, in *her* opinion, by a full admission of the rights of reason and science, which in these days of progress (in many instances most dangerous and unwise attempts to tear down what is most valuable and necessary) will make themselves heard.

As for the party who are setting at naught the law, and more especially the new Act which the Archbishop has been mainly instrumental in passing, the Queen hopes that means will be found of enforcing their obedience without exciting public sympathy in their behalf. Nothing, at all events, can be more injurious to the Establishment than this open defiance of the new law, or more likely to spread, if not checked at once.

The Queen agrees with the Archbishop as to the good done by the Established Church in the religious education of the people, and also she must say by many of the good and distinguished members of the

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[1] See above, pp. 507–509.

Dissenters. What we want, however, is *harmony amongst all true Protestants of all denominations*, for that *alone can* defy unbelief. But alas! how far are we from that! The parties within the Church, so violent against each other, are our great weakness!

The Queen is glad to hear from the Archbishop that "the Bishops are working heartily together," but hopes that this will become manifest to the clergy at large, at the meetings of the Upper House in Convocation, so as to act with a united authority which has been hitherto wanting.

The Queen wishes to offer, to the Archbishop and Mrs. Tait, her sincerest good wishes for the New Year, and every blessing for themselves and family.

Queen Victoria to Lord Lytton.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12*th Jan.* 1877.—The Queen and Empress (for as such she feels she ought now to address her Viceroy of India) wishes to express her great satisfaction at the accounts from Delhi, and she is looking much forward to his next letter, as his are always so graphic and interesting.

He will no doubt have heard how she spent the evening from Lord George Hamilton. The Queen-Empress wore the Star of India (which he will have heard she conferred that day on Prince Arthur), and the very handsome present of jewels which Holkar sent her through the Prince of Wales; Scindia's, which is equally handsome, she also wore for a short while, but it is not very convenient and will have to be altered before she can do so often. Lord George Hamilton observed, when the Queen-Empress said she wished it should be known at Delhi that she wore these jewels, that he was afraid to mention any name in particular for fear of creating jealousy, to which she replied, that only those two Princes besides Sir Jung Bahadoor and the Maharajah of Dewas had sent her any.

The Queen-Empress is greatly grieved at the very alarming accounts of the famine in Bengal. She fears the expense will be enormous, but doubts not that the Viceroy will employ every means for meeting the emergency, that prudence and humanity can devise. She fears that she can give no satisfactory or decisive account of the result of the Conferences at Constantinople as yet, but a day or two must decide it. With kind remembrances to Lady Lytton the Queen-Empress concludes.

General Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th Jan.* 1877.—General Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say he saw Lord Beaconsfield, who was in his room and unable to come downstairs.

He said there was an end of the Conference. He had expected as much, though many people had said, if England and Russia go hand in hand (as they have done), Turkey must give way. Turkey, however, had shown she did not intend to submit to foreign dictation. What should we do? Nothing. We were called upon to do nothing. We had proposed the Conference. It had resulted in nothing, and, after withdrawing Lord Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot (who, after all, had not been so wrong in his prognostications), the duty of England would be to wait for further events.

In course of time, the question of a strong man as Ambassador at Constantinople would have to be considered, and it would be necessary to consult Lord Salisbury, who, he hoped, would come home at once and not go to Mentone, as rumoured.

He thought England stood very well, and was not altogether displeased at the situation, though of course it would have been more satisfactory had Lord Salisbury succeeded. The Russians, after all their threats of war, might find themselves in an awkward position, and their movements should be watched, but the other nations would simply retire as we do. The Conference having failed, the New Constitution became all-important. . . .

Lord Beaconsfield was certainly ill. He said he would be ready to wait on your Majesty when required. General Ponsonby cannot help saying that, should your Majesty not very specially desire to see him personally, it would be almost wise for him [Lord Beaconsfield] to keep quiet for some days to come. The slightest relapse may produce a long illness, which just now would be inconvenient. General Ponsonby could, of course, take and bring back any messages. These, however, are only General Ponsonby's remarks, as Lord Beaconsfield said he was determined to come here if your Majesty desired it.

The German Crown Prince to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

BERLIN, 25*th Jan.* 1877.—The Emperor Alexander sent a *verbal* message to the Emperor William, through the Grand Duke, who was recently here, to the effect that his position was still a most grave and critical one; the agitation of political parties in his own country could not leave him in peace of mind; yet he was convinced that he had made the greatest possible amount of concessions to Turkey; he was now going to propose to the European Powers that they should collectively adhere to the position which they had taken up towards Turkey. In this I discover a faint ray of hope, that the other Cabinets (by judicious operation) may succeed in averting a conflict.

Here it has been resolved *to side under all circumstances with Russia.*

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 27*th Jan.* 1877.—Dear Willie of Prussia's eighteenth birthday. Received most delighted and astonished telegrams about my intention of giving him the Garter. It is a rare thing that three members of the same family and the three generations should have it at the same time. May God long bless, protect, and guide dear Willie!

16*th Feb.*—Saw Mr. Dalton soon after I came in, who had come to explain to me the proposed plan,[1] and I gave him my Memorandum to read, and I am thankful to see what a fearless, honest man he is. He said that all the points I mentioned had been considered, but that he was sure, as well as others of sound and reliable views who had been consulted, that in the boys' interest the plan of sending them to the *Britannia* was the right one. Felt very satisfied with my conversation with him. He left directly to return to London.

Sir Stafford Northcote[2] *to Queen Victoria.*

House of Commons, 16*th Feb.* 1877.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen.

He trusts your Majesty will pardon him for writing very hastily, as it has been impossible for him to leave the House till the debate was over, and it is now late.

Mr. Gladstone's speech caused very great disappointment to those who expected a display of eloquence. It was calm, and almost tame; and the speaker seemed to feel the strain of a very difficult case. He began by quietly setting aside the Tripartite Treaty of 1856, on the ground that as Turkey was not a party to it, Lord Derby could not have been thinking of it in his despatch of 5th September. He then argued that the main Treaty of Paris did not involve any question of war (which no one ever said it did), and moreover that, whatever its obligations were, they were set aside by the conduct of the party to whom the obligations were incurred. He went on to defend the course of his Administration in renewing the treaty in 1871, without adverting to the condition of the Christians, and quoted an answer given by Lord Enfield in the House of Commons in 1872, to show that the Christians were then supposed to be fairly governed. He concluded by putting three questions to the Government as to the meaning of Lord Derby, and as to whether we considered this country to be still bound by any treaty obligations to go to war.

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[1] The Prince of Wales had explained to the Queen at Buckingham Palace on 7th February his plan for his boys' education. Her Majesty wrote in her Journal on that day: "He said that, for the boys' education, proper discipline, and undisturbed studies, they must leave home. After much discussion he had finally come to the conclusion that it would be best for them to go on board the *Britannia* training-ship. Eddy would naturally not enter the Navy, and Georgie only if he liked it." The Rev. J. N. Dalton, now Canon of Windsor, was the boys' tutor.

[2] Who had become leader of the House of Commons.

Mr. Hardy answered in an excellent speech, stating the difference between the two treaties of 1856, and saying that we considered them both to be in force, and that we were bound by them and the Turks were likewise bound. (Here Mr. Gladstone interrupted him, saying that he too considered that the Turks were still bound to us, though we were not bound to them—a doctrine which Mr. Hardy turned to good account.) Mr. Hardy said the Tripartite Treaty did include an obligation to go to war if we should be called on by France and Austria, an improbable but possible contingency. He declined to discuss hypothetical cases; and he disclaimed any intention to use force to regulate the internal affairs of Turkey.

Mr. Hardy's speech was most successful, and it seemed possible that the debate would then collapse; but it was kept up by Lord R. Montagu and other speakers, until it began to take a wider range. . . . Then Mr. H. Chaplin made a vigorous attack on Mr. Gladstone for his conduct in the autumn, and challenged him to make or withdraw his charges against the Government in the House of Commons; in order to enable him to do so, he moved the adjournment of the debate, thus giving Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of speaking again. Mr. Chaplin was too strong in some of his expressions, and had to withdraw one reflecting on Mr. Gladstone's conduct as a "man of honour." Mr. Gladstone rose in great excitement and made a very angry speech, declining however to say whether he would or would not bring forward a direct motion. Sir Stafford made an attempt to pour a little oil on the stormy waves, and at the same time to enforce Mr. Chaplin's demand that the Opposition should either bring forward their charges against the Government or say frankly that they abandoned them. Lord Hartington held very cautious language as to their intentions.

A long wrangle then took place as to the adjournment of the debate, which was finally agreed to. The day for resuming it is not absolutely fixed, but it will probably be on Friday next, if at all.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 16*th March* 1877.

MY DEAREST MAMA,— . . . General Ignatieff has arrived here.[1] You know my opinion about him, so I will not repeat it, but as matters are looking better I think it would be good policy to treat him with civility, and I hope that you will receive him before he leaves again, and his wife, should she have come over with him.

The dear kind old General[2] has placed his resignation in my hands to-day, and accepts the office you have so kindly offered him. We shall miss him very much, but I think for his own sake, and for that of his family and their comfort, he has come to the right conclusion. I shall to-morrow ask Sir Dighton Probyn to be his successor, as I feel sure he is the only man I know of who could succeed him.

I was hunting near Windsor to-day. The day was lovely—though there was rather more wind than was pleasant.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] Sir William Knollys had been Comptroller and Treasurer of the Prince's Household from the beginning. See vol. i, p. 41.

With Alix's best love, I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, BERTIE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20*th March* 1877.—Saw Lord Derby at one, who spoke of Ignatieff, and that his tone was much altered. That he was holding very unsatisfactory language and that he (Lord D.) must prepare me for the entire failure of the Protocol.[1] I said I hoped they would on no account give way to the Russians, etc., to which he answered that we could go no further than we had done, and had told both Schouvaloff and Ignatieff, " No demobilisation, no Protocol." They want now to back out of the demobilisation, which they had nearly promised. " They are very slippery people," he added. Spoke of the shameful way in which poor Sir H. Elliot had been attacked by them, and Lord Derby assured me he was determined not to yield to it. He could not yet understand the object of the Russians. Lady Derby then brought in Madame Ignatieff, who is small and pretty, and rather pleasing, after which Lord Derby came in with Count Schouvaloff and General Ignatieff, who is a very disagreeable, vulgar-looking man, with a bad countenance. We fortunately avoided all politics, by speaking of family events, which made Lord Derby laugh afterwards.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 23*rd March* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The Cabinet of this morning was the most critical Cabinet of your Majesty's present Administration. Affairs had now arrived at such a pass, that it was necessary that they should be conducted by an unanimous Ministry. With unanimity, security and even triumph were probable: without union, feebleness, peril, and disaster almost certain.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Your Majesty will learn with satisfaction that the exposition of affairs by Lord Beaconsfield, and his appeal to his colleagues, elicited the cordial sympathy that was requisite.

Lord Beaconsfield compared together the two policies now in conflict: the Imperial policy of England, and the policy of crusade. He sketched what must be the consequences of a nation indulging in sentimental eccentricity. He concluded by saying that he was to wait on your Majesty on Monday, to lay before your Majesty the state of your Majesty's affairs, and that he should feel it his duty to humbly declare to your Majesty, that, without an united Cabinet on their Eastern policy, he could not do justice to your Majesty's interests.

Lord Beaconsfield had to speak at some length—perhaps half an hour or more—but this, omitting all the details of the various Russian proposals and counter-proposals, is the gist of his remarks.

There was a pause, and then Lord Salisbury spoke: low, but clear, and with becoming seriousness. Nothing could be more temperate in tone or manner, though he did not avoid the difficulty. He said, however strong, or the reverse, the party of crusaders were in the country, he hoped that the Prime Minister did not believe there was any crusader in the Cabinet. But the religious sentiments of bodies of our countrymen could not be disregarded, nor could our own convictions be set aside; still, he was prepared on this vast question to bow to the opinion of the majority of his colleagues, and he had recognised, at the last meeting of the Cabinet, that the majority of his colleagues was in accordance with the views of the Prime Minister.

The Lord Chancellor followed, shortly, but powerfully, in favour of Lord Beaconsfield's views: then, Mr. Secretary Hardy the same.

Lord Carnarvon, who had listened with absolute absorption to Lord Salisbury, then began to cough, and delivered himself of an address, which was intended originally to be mischievous. He harped much on the phrase "sentimental eccentricity," which he evidently self-appropriated; found great fault with the policy of the Government from the beginning; said we had changed our policy, and all the disagreeable things that are said by Lord Bath, and Canon Lyddon [*sic*], and Lord Dudley. Nevertheless after venting fully his spleen, he announced his determination to act with his colleagues.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ward Hunt, spoke also well, when, Lord Derby declaring that he had nothing to remark, Lord Beaconsfield having exhausted the subject, Duke of Richmond and the others signified their assent to this remark, and the Council closed, having resolved that they could join in no Protocol without preliminary or simultaneous engagement on the part of Russia to withdraw her armies from the Turkish frontiers.

Lord Beaconsfield proposes to leave town tomorrow morning for Hughenden, change of air being earnestly recommended to him. He, however, proposes, on Monday, to drive over from Hughenden to Windsor, and have the honour, and real profit and pleasure, of his audience of your Majesty.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

FAIRHILL, TUNBRIDGE, 2*nd April* 1877.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that the protocol about which so much discussion has taken place was signed on Saturday, and has been communicated to the Turkish Ambassador, as also to Mr. Jocelyn at Constantinople.

Lord Derby never has been, and is not now, sanguine of the success of this document in ensuring peace; but as it is now worded, it can do no harm, even if it fails to do any good: and it will at least prevent the Russian Government from throwing the blame on England, if war ensues; which assuredly would have been done if signature had been refused. If the Russian Emperor is sincere in his alleged desire for an excuse to enable him to disarm, he has got what he wants; if not, we are only where we were, neither better nor worse than before.

In England, Lord Derby thinks the action of the Government will be popular.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 11*th April* 1877.—Heard that the Turks had decided to refuse the Protocol, but to treat directly on mutual disarmament. Awoke with a horrid sick headache. Saw Mr. Layard,[1] who is to go immediately to Constantinople on a special mission, having been specially sent for from Spain. He feels it will be a most difficult task, but will do his very best and knows the Turks, having been at Constantinople for fifteen years, at one time. He is greatly astonished and shocked at Mr. Gladstone's conduct, and that of other members of the Liberal party, forgetting and losing sight of the great and important interests of this country. The danger to India is very great. Mr. Layard asked leave to convey some friendly message from me to the Sultan, which I was quite ready and pleased to send. Mr. Layard gave rather better accounts of Spain and praised the young King very much. Everything depended upon him.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 Whitehall Gardens, 13*th April* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He is grieved about your Majesty's sufferings, but trusts they have not returned, and that all is right. It strengthens him to feel that your Majesty is well, and fairly happy.

He has required from the Foreign Office a Cabinet key for H.R.H. Prince Leopold, as your Majesty's private secretary; or, rather, as one of your Majesty's private secretaries; and he hopes he may receive it in time to place it in this box. Such a claim is perfectly legitimate, and as the F.O. is very traditionary, and generally obstructive, Lord Beaconsfield thought it expedient to put his request at once on this intelligible ground. The private secretaries of Cabinet Ministers are, now, all allowed Cabinet keys, and, indeed, it would be impossible to carry on the affairs of your Majesty's Empire without such a privilege.

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[1] Who had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Lord Palmerston's last ministry, and was at this time Minister at Madrid; afterwards Sir Henry Layard.

Under these circumstances, there would be no objection whatever to Prince Leopold always retaining the key, even when he is absent from your Majesty; and such an arrangement might make H.R. Highness more sensible, and proud, of the distinction.

But there may be reasons which might induce your Majesty to think otherwise; whatever your Majesty desires in this respect shall be done. . . .

He took his second *séance* with M. von Angeli this morning. It is supposed that the portrait[1] will be an eminent success.

Second letter.

[*Same date.*]—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The F.O. wishes that your Majesty's private secretary should write to Lord Tenterden, merely stating that your Majesty wishes, for your Majesty's convenience, to have another Cabinet key, and it will be forwarded instantly.

Lord Beaconsfield thinks there are sound reasons for this course perhaps, as it prevents questions rising with regard to the Prince's Royal Brothers.

Lord Beaconsfield has re-opened his box at the last moment, which, he trusts, will be an excuse for this too rough and hurried note.

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[1] Which was being painted for the Queen, at her Majesty's request.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Secret. *No.* 1.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 23*rd April* 1877.—*Memorandum on Cabinet held* 21*st instant.*[1]

Lord Beaconsfield commenced proceedings by saying it was necessary to consider the whole position of Turkey, and to decide upon our course, if action were to be taken.

As regarded *Turkey in Europe*, where the Turkish Army was in greatest force, it was the opinion of our military advisers, that in fourteen or fifteen weeks (say four months) after the passage of the Pruth, the Russians might arrive at Constantinople. So, an affair of one campaign.

As regards *Turkey in Asia*, there seemed to be no substantial means of resistance on the part of the Turks. They might place considerable garrisons in two or three strong places, say Kars and Erzerum for example, but they would have no army in the field, and the progress of the Russians could not be substantially arrested. The Russian Asiatic frontier was, however, distant 1,500 miles from Constantinople, and the country was very difficult, so a catastrophe could hardly occur in the first campaign, though, probably, Armenia would be conquered, and Erzerum captured.

As regards *Turkey in Africa*, the Russian Baltic fleet was ordered to the Mediterranean, and Egypt would naturally attract their attention. The Egyptian contingent is now aiding the Porte, and another is promised. The Russians might destroy the new harbour of Alexandria, built by British capitalists, to whom it is mortgaged, and chiefly used by British ships. Port Said and the Suez Canal are contiguous, where British interests, both politically and commercially, are, in value, incalculable. The country next to England, as regards interest in Egypt, is France, who, the Russians will not forget, was our ally in the Crimean war.

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[1] The day on which the Russo-Turkish War began.

The question submitted to the Cabinet was, "Were we to act, and if so, how?" After a discussion of more than two hours, the Cabinet agreed we must act, but how, and when, was not then decided.

Secret Memorandum. No. 2.

[*Same date.*]—In the days before the Cabinet of the 21st inst. was held, Lord [Beaconsfield] had long interviews with the Secretary of State for War, Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, and eventually the Lord Chancellor. He imparted to them the policy which he thought, under the circumstances, should be adopted, and that was—to occupy the Dardanelles, as a material guarantee against Russia seizing on Constantinople, engaging to retire from the occupation when a treaty of peace was concluded, which would secure the requisite balance of power.

Lord Derby, though he thought any action premature, did not disapprove of the step being eventually taken, if it were done with the sanction of the Porte. That he deemed indispensable, otherwise it would figure as the commencement of the scramble for the spoils of the Ottoman Empire, which it certainly did not become England to originate. Lord Salisbury did not disapprove of the step, provided it was not done with the concurrence of the Porte; otherwise, it would appear that we were the allies of Turkey, and that, in his opinion, England would never tolerate. Mr. Secretary Hardy was favourable to the general policy, and had worked out the measure in detail with the military authorities; it was quite feasible, would command everything, and, very probably, if taken, would arrest the advance of Russia when they had reached the Balkans. But Mr. Secretary Hardy agreed with Lord Derby, that no step of the kind should be taken without the concurrence of the Porte. The Lord Chancellor, on the other hand, felt the force of Lord Salisbury's objection, but entirely approved of the measure, and thought we should consider whether the expedition might not be preceded by a declaration, which would remove the false impression in the country, which Lord Salisbury apprehended.

Lord Carnarvon, in the Cabinet on 21st, was against any expedition, and thought the presence of our fleet at the Bosphorus would be sufficient. Upon this, Mr. Secretary Hardy read a report from one of our military authorities, in which it was stated that all accounts and secret military documents stated that, when the Russians had arrived at Adrianople, it was their intention to occupy the Dardanelles before they advanced on Constantinople. This declaration, which startled the Cabinet, led them at once to consider the plan of Lord Beaconsfield, without the inconvenience of his personally bringing it forward as a project of his own.

When the Cabinet meets again, they will virtually assemble to reconsider the same proposal.

It is the duty of Lord Beaconsfield to inform your Majesty, that, irrespective of the contrary objections taken by Lords Derby and Salisbury against Lord Beaconsfield's proposal, there are others, which have not yet been mentioned in the Cabinet, but which may and will be urged. It will be contended, that it will be impossible for us to occupy the Dardanelles without our finding ourselves eventually in collision with the Russians or the Turks: that we have not that command of the sea which would permit us to despatch a military expedition from home, as we did in the Crimean war, without the slightest convoy: that the other Powers would look with disfavour on such a move, on our part, as that contemplated.

To all these objections there are replies, the adequacy of which must be considered, but it would weary your Majesty, on this occasion, to enter into them. It is, however, trusted that these two memoranda will tend to make the position of affairs, both at home and abroad, tolerably clear to your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Windsor Castle, 28*th April* 1877.—The Queen has read with much alarm Lord Lyons's secret and confidential letter. She thinks the state of affairs more and more serious. *Ought* not some agreement be come to, with the *non*-belligerent Powers, to *urge* Russia and Turkey to desist *after* an engagement or two? Has the Fleet received orders to reassemble and go to Besika Bay? and has the Duke of Edinburgh received his orders to join it?

The Queen thinks the Opposition should be appealed to, to desist from constant questions as to what the Government is going to do.

Till now the Queen has had no communication whatever with them. But *she* is *quite* ready to write or speak to any of them, *if* it can be of the slightest use.

Will Lord Beaconsfield come here on Monday?

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Secret.

2 Whitehall Gardens, 28*th April* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

A most important Cabinet to-day.

Notwithstanding Lord Derby informed us that all the Powers had agreed not to reply to Prince Gortchakoff's manifesto,[1] the Cabinet determined that was a reason, and an additional one, that England should reply—and a spirited draft was approved. It is to be printed for final revision, and Lord Beaconsfield trusts it may be delivered very early in the ensuing week.

After this, quite unexpectedly, the Lord Chancellor[2] brought the grave state of affairs before the

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[1] Dated 19th April, and explaining that the Emperor of Russia had undertaken the task of coercing Turkey into acceptance of the demands of the Powers.

[2] Lord Cairns.

Cabinet, and said he could no longer rest in peace under the conviction that delay, on our part, in acting, would be fatal to the highest interests of the Empire. It is impossible for a statement to have been more clear, weighty, and impressive—and the effect was great. The Lord Chancellor said, that after giving unbroken consideration to the necessary measures, he was convinced that the proposal of the P. Minister to occupy the Dardanelles was the only one which would meet the exigencies of the occasion.

Lord Derby proposed, or rather suggested, as a substitute, that we should inform Russia that her occupation of Constantinople would be a *casus belli*; but the Cabinet seemed to think that, if Russia were in possession of the Dardanelles and Constantinople, it would be somewhat difficult for England to carry on *bellum*.

Lord Salisbury, unable to propose any adequate substitute, accepted the policy as a necessity, but wished the step to be delayed until the necessity was absolutely apparent.

The Lord Chancellor replied that, according to the statements of the military authorities, we had only now a fortnight in our favour, and that delay was impossible. Finally, it was agreed that the Cabinet should meet again on Tuesday at eleven o'clock, and that General Sir Lintorn Simmons should attend it.

Lord Beaconsfield proposes to attend your Majesty's Council on Monday. He will then, with your Majesty's gracious permission, confer with your Majesty, among other points, on your Majesty addressing the leaders of the Opposition as your Majesty suggests. At present, there is, at length, an avowed dissolution of partnership between the bulk of your Majesty's late Ministers and Mr. Gladstone, who has placed himself at the head of the extreme party, and given notice of a motion,[1] which he brings forward without the sanction and support of Lords Granville and Hartington and their friends. He will encounter, Lord Beaconsfield believes, an immense defeat.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

The Fleet is ordered to reassemble, and eventually repair to Besika Bay. The Duke of Edinburgh will be then in command of the *Sultan*.

Lord Beaconsfield has sent a box with some submissions, including those referring to the Bishoprics of Rochester and St. Albans. Canon Thorold accepts Rochester, subject to your Majesty's approbation.

Lord Beaconsfield fears this is too roughly written, but the pressure of affairs on him now is very great, and he would not lose a moment in informing your Majesty of the proceedings of this morning.

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

KISCHINEF, 29*th April* 1877.—Veuillez recevoir mes remerciements pour félicitations et nouvelles que vous me donnez sur Marie et ses chers enfants. Voudrais que vous n'oubliiez pas tout ce que j'avais chargé votre Ambassadeur de porter à votre connaissance encore à Livadia, et que je ne plaisante pas avec la parole que je donne. La responsabilité des conséquences en retombera en plein sur ceux qui ne veulent pas y croire. Que Dieu vous inspire pour prévenir de grands malheurs !

Mr. Forster to the Marchioness of Ely.

Private.

80 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.,
1*st May* 1877 (*Tuesday*).

MY DEAR LADY ELY,—Thank you much for your note.

I shall see Hartington to-morrow and will tell him what you say, though in the *strictest confidence.* What he and I and most of us have decided to do is to meet these resolutions with the "previous question." That will be Greek to you, but being interpreted means that we think they are out of time, and ought not to be proposed at this present crisis.

For myself, the meaning of Gladstone's resolutions—not exactly the words, but the meaning—is just what I should have liked *before* Russia declared war; but now that there is war, I think the time for them is past, and what we ought now to aim at is neutrality.

I am very glad to believe, from what I hear in general talk, and from what I see in the Tory papers, that the Government means neutrality, and does not mean to involve us in war.

We hear this evening that the Russians have gained a great victory. I cannot be sorry, but, if this rumour is true, it confirms my conviction that the time for resolutions is past.

It *is* a very anxious business all round. Yours very truly, W. E. FORSTER.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *2nd May* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

At the Cabinet yesterday your Majesty's Ministers adopted an answer to the Circular of Prince Gortchakoff, which has been submitted to your Majesty.

The question of the future policy of England was then discussed, and the three following resolutions were arrived at, subject to further immediate consideration.

1. That it be declared to Russia that any one of three things would be regarded by England as a *casus belli*—the occupation of Constantinople, an attack on Egypt, the obstruction of the free passage of the Dardanelles.

2. That an application be addressed to the Mediterranean Powers, France, Italy, and Austria, with a view to a combination for the maintenance of the freedom of the navigation of that sea, and the prevention of vexatious blockades and obstructions of commerce.

3. That it be considered under what circumstances,

when, and in what manner, should it appear expedient, England shall occupy the Dardanelles.

The Cabinet will meet again for the further discussion of the whole question, this afternoon at two; and, at its rising, Lord Beaconsfield will have the honour of again communicating with your Majesty.

Sir Bartle Frere to General Ponsonby.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN, 1*st May* 1877.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—Many thanks for your kind letter of 19th March. You will see that your anticipations about the Republics, or one of them, the Transvaal, have come true sooner than you probably expected. Sir Theophilus Shepstone issued his proclamation[1] on the 12th, and you may imagine the great distances, and the slowness of communication (as of everything else) in this country, when I tell you that we only received the official documents, of which I enclose copies, last night—30th April. . . .

I think you will be much struck by Sir Theophilus Shepstone's official despatches, they are so clear, simple, and forcible; I have had much discussion with men of all sorts of parties, and holding the most opposite views on all colonial questions, but not one of them has been able to suggest any alternative course to that adopted; "a little more delay"—"a little more time to see what can be done"—were all that could be proposed, and no one here seems seriously to question that, had Shepstone not gone, or had he come away without doing anything, there would have been immediate civil war, between the two sections of the Dutch party and the English or mixed foreign element of the population, and that the natives would certainly have swarmed in. This would have forced us to interpose by force after much bloodshed, and after the country had been wasted, and thrown back twenty years. I think Sir Theophilus clearly makes out that the general feeling of the country was in favour of annexation, and the result, as far as we can yet judge, shows that he rightly interpreted the feeling of the population.

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[1] Of annexation of the Transvaal.

I enclose a small map which you may find useful. The limits of the Transvaal are, like everything else in South Africa, rather indefinite; but it is roughly stated at about the area of Great Britain and Ireland; the population at 40,000 whites and 800,000 natives—so that it will be no child's-play to get such a charge into order. So far, I think, Sir Theophilus has done his work admirably.

You will see that the great Zulu kingdom with a well-armed and well-organised army of 40,000 men is between Natal and Delagoa Bay; but we have always exercised a kind of protectorate over the Zulus, and they recognise our right to the seaboard up to the Portuguese frontier in lat. 26.30. The Zulus are the most warlike and independent of the Kaffirs, and, but for the influence of the Natal Government exercised through Shepstone, would ere this have attacked the Transvaal.

You will, I know, excuse a short letter to-day amid many interruptions, and believe me ever sincerely yours, H. B. E. Frere.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, 17*th May* 1877.—After luncheon the great composer Wagner, about whom the people in Germany are really a little mad, was brought into the corridor by Mr. Cusins. I had seen him with dearest Albert in '55, when he directed at the Philharmonic Concert. He has grown old and stout, and has a clever, but not pleasing countenance. He was profuse in expressions of gratitude, and I expressed my regret at having been unable to be present at one of his concerts. Drove with Marie and Beatrice to Cumberland Lodge, where we took tea with Lenchen. When I came in, painted from my dressing-room window the lovely view with the fresh green of the trees, and the blue distance, which I had already done the last two evenings.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 24*th May* 1877.—A few days hence, surrounded by Princes and by Peers, it will be the proud duty of Lord Beaconsfield, on a day of general public joy, to propose the health of an Empress-Queen.

Will he be pardoned, if on this, the real anniversary of an event happy in the history of his country, he presumes to approach your Majesty not as a Minister, but as the humblest, though not the least attached, of your Majesty's friends, and recall the birth of one, whose existence has not only gladdened the life of a people, but has deigned to shed on his being the ineffable charm, which springs from sympathy the most condescending, from never-failing grace, and from the pure and perfect trust, which becomes an imperial heart?

May the coming years be to your Majesty years of continuous consolation, and may your Majesty find, in the welfare of your subjects in many climes, some mitigation of those mournful memories, which wait even on the most exalted!

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Argyll.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL CASTLE, 4*th June* 1877.

MY DEAR DUKE,— . . . I do not wish or intend to touch on politics, but I *cannot* conclude without a few words of *earnest* warning.

Though you may refuse to believe statements made by official people, you will not refuse to believe *mine*; I wish therefore to state *solemnly*, that I know that this war, and the fearful consequences which it may have, might, and it is my firm conviction *would* have been *prevented*, had Russia not been *encouraged* in the strongest manner by the extraordinary, and, to me, *utterly* incomprehensible, agitation carried on by some Members, and especially by one, of my late Government, to believe that she could do what she liked without meeting with opposition. I know this to be true!

Let me add that it is not too late now to act a patriotic part and to desist from so lamentable a course! . . .

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

ZARSKOE-SALO, *le* 21 *Mai*/2 *Juin* 1877.

MA TRÈS CHÈRE SŒUR,—Je charge mon Ambassadeur, le Cte. Schouvaloff, de vous porter cette lettre. Il retourne à Londres avec des assurances qui, je l'espère, vous satisferont et préviendront dans l'avenir tout sujet de malentendu. La mission que je lui confie est une preuve sincère du prix que j'attache à maintenir la bonne entente qui ne doit cesser d'exister entre nos deux pays.

Je me rends à l'Armée et j'espère, ma chère Sœur, que vous ne vous opposerez pas à ce que ma Fille passe auprès de sa Mère le temps de mon absence, comme vous nous l'aviez proposé vous-même, l'année dernière, lors du départ d'Alfred pour la Méditerranée, à bord du bâtiment qu'il commande.

Fort heureusement il n'y a rien de changé dans les relations de l'Angleterre et de la Russie. J'espère que vous êtes du même avis et que vous l'autoriserez à mettre à exécution un projet si cher à mon cœur et que l'Impératrice et moi ne saurions nous résoudre à abandonner.

Croyez à la sincérité des sentiments de votre affectionné Frère, ALEXANDRE.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

BALMORAL, 8*th June* 1877.—The Queen feels *extremely* anxious and alarmed at the present state of the Eastern question, and must write to Lord Derby on the subject.

From all the letters and telegrams from our Ambassadors and Consuls it seems *clear* that Russia, *in spite* of all her assurances and promises, is bent on pushing on in Asia Minor, as well as in Europe, and while she will be profuse in promises and assurances of *not* doing these very things, and trying to lull us into false security, she will continue to do what *she thinks* best for herself, and at the right moment to say that something or other has, *contrary* to her *intentions*, *obliged her* to take *possession* of places in Asia as well as in Europe.

If we are therefore *not entirely ready* to back up our declaration of what we intend to do, we may find ourselves checkmated and unable to move, and England be painfully humiliated.

Delay *now* will be most disastrous. Let us be firm and show plenty of energy, or we may rue it when it is too late.

The Queen has had a great deal of interesting conversation with Lord Odo Russell, who, she is sorry to hear, has hardly had any opportunity of speaking to Lord Derby, which she, however, trusts Lord Derby will do as soon as he returns to town, which Lord Odo will do on Sunday.

There is an intimate understanding between the three Great Powers. Of that there can be no doubt, and therefore she thinks Prince Bismarck is *sure* to hear of our *secret* communication with *Austria* (which she naturally has not mentioned to Lord Odo), and she must think that he will resent this want of frankness on our part, especially after his frequent profession of a wish to act with us.

Lord Odo says Russia is in a great state of readiness, and that we must on no account reckon on their not advancing rapidly when they are once over the Balkans. He is convinced that we have but to hold strong and energetic language, supported by *action* if required, and *Russia* will stop and the other Powers rally round us! But hesitation, delay, or any appearance of threats without the intention of acting up to them will be fatal. Russia, he says, won't quarrel with us, and we have only to act up to what we have stated and we shall command respect and support.

If Russia continues to advance, we must take precautionary measures, stating to her our reasons for doing so.

The Queen would wish Lord Derby to show this to Lord Beaconsfield, to whom she has also written.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 11*th June* 1877.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits that he has been honoured by your Majesty's letter on the question of the war now begun, and of its possible bearings on the interests of this country.

This letter Lord Derby has at once forwarded to Lord Beaconsfield, as desired by your Majesty.

Lord Derby has not been an indifferent observer of passing events : and will lose no reasonable chance, in concert with his colleagues, of interposing mediation or good offices when there seems a chance of their being accepted.

Your Majesty will have seen the Russian reply to the letter addressed some weeks ago to Count Schouvaloff, in which stress was laid on the necessity of avoiding certain acts of war which would injuriously interfere with English interests. This reply Lord Derby regards as on the whole satisfactory : though no doubt all Russian assurances must be taken with caution.

Your Majesty will also have seen the terms of peace suggested by the Russian Government, as those which it will accept if peace can be made before the Balkan is crossed. They will require consideration : they are undoubtedly severe, and even humiliating for Turkey, but the question is whether any better results can be obtained by continuing the war. The Turkish armies seem ill-organised, ill-fed, and ill-commanded : incapable, in short, of offering serious resistance to a Russian advance.

In this country, feeling is much divided ; but Lord Derby believes that a war not absolutely forced upon us by necessity and self-defence would be unpopular even now, and far more so when once entered upon. Lord Derby well remembers the Crimean war; and has never seen so near an approach to a really revolutionary condition of public feeling as after the first failures and disasters of that struggle. He does not believe that England could now reckon on any European ally, and has no doubt but that between the three military empires of eastern Europe there is an understanding as to what shall be done.

Nor is the evident and scarcely disguised wish of Prince Bismarck to push England into a quarrel with Russia an encouraging circumstance. On the whole, he is disposed to think that even unsatisfactory conditions of peace will be better for Turkey than none: and that the time and circumstances are most unfavourable for England, regarded as a possible combatant. The desire of maintaining peace is strong in English society; and Lord Derby doubts whether funds for an eastern expedition would be voted by Parliament, except on much stronger evidence of its necessity than is now producible.

Lord Derby saw Lord Odo Russell before he left for Scotland; and will see him again; but he believes that the constant interchange of letters between them has left him little to learn as to the views entertained by Lord Odo.[1]

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 13*th June* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty: He returns the copy of the Emperor's letter.

It is difficult to reply to the political portion, for it is not easy to tell his Imperial Majesty that his terms of peace are coupled with a condition to which your Majesty cannot consent.

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[1] "An annoying and unsatisfactory letter," was the Queen's comment in her Journal on 12th June.

It would be better to say that your Majesty will submit Count Schouvaloff's Memorandum to your Majesty's Ministers, and that your Majesty earnestly trusts that they may be able to remove the difficulties which, your Majesty fears, are involved in its provisions.

Queen Victoria to the Emperor of Russia.

[*Copie.*] Balmoral, 14 *Juin* 1877.

Mon cher Frère,—Je vous remercie bien de votre bonne lettre, qui m'est parvenue il y a quelques jours, et je suis très heureuse d'avoir pu prévenir vos désirs au sujet de Marie. Je me suis empressée de prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour faciliter la visite de Marie à l'Impératrice, comprenant parfaitement que cela vous soit une consolation à tous ; mais je ne me rappelle avoir promis d'avance rien de fixe à ce sujet ; il me semble qu'il avait seulement été question que Marie passât, tantôt auprès de vous, et tantôt auprès de moi, le temps qu'Alfred serait absent.

Je suis d'autant plus contente d'avoir pu envoyer Marie à sa Mère, en ce moment, que le triste événement[1] de Darmstadt rendra encore plus nécessaire à l'Impératrice la présence de notre chère Marie.

Quant à la dépêche apportée par le Comte Schouvaloff, elle est entre les mains de mes Ministres, et je souhaite bien sincèrement, qu'ils puissent faire disparaître les difficultés qui, je crains, se rencontrent dans les mesures proposées.

Je suis bien persuadée, mon cher Frère, de votre grand désir de maintenir la bonne entente entre nos deux pays, et vous ne pouvez pas douter du prix que j'y attache moi-même.

Je me dis, avec les sentiments les plus sincères, votre affectionnée Sœur, V. R. & I.

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[1] The death, on 13th June, of Louis III, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, brother of the Empress of Russia, and therefore the Duchess of Edinburgh's uncle, and also uncle of Princess Alice's husband, who succeeded as Louis IV.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, *Midsummer Day* 1877.—. . . Yesterday Lord Beaconsfield opened the Artisans' and Labourers' Buildings erected in the neighbourhood of Battersea Park, by a society carrying into effect the provisions of Mr. Secretary Cross's Act for the purpose of improving the condition of the dwellings of the working classes. There was a considerable and rather brilliant attendance. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary Cross, the Bishop of Winchester, and many fine ladies, rather unexpected guests at such ceremonies; Ladies Rosslyn, Ilchester, Stanhope, Scarbrough and others.

Mr. Secretary Cross was to have announced in due course that your Majesty had been pleased to permit that the buildings should bear your Majesty's name, but when the hour arrived, he was wanting, being obliged to go and meet H.R.H. the Prince at the Trinity House, which Lord Beaconsfield had thought it prudent to decline doing.

So, it fell to his lot to make an announcement which was unexpected, and which, he can sincerely say, gave the liveliest gratification to all classes, especially those for whose benefit they were assembled.

Lord Beaconsfield wore some of the lilies, which your Majesty so graciously, and so gracefully, presented to him at Windsor.

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *3rd July* 1877.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen.

The proceedings of to-day have been a good deal overshadowed by the proceedings of last night, which were of a remarkable character. A few votes had been got through in the Army Estimates by 12.30, and Mr. Hardy then announced that, after taking one more, which had in substance been fully discussed, and to which there was no opposition, he would move to report progress. The Irish Mountain, however, inspired by Captain Nolan and represented by the new Member Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. O'Connor Power, saw their way to an obstruction and moved to report progress at once. This was defeated by 120 to 8. The motion was renewed, and, though repeatedly defeated by majorities of 106 to 5, was carried on till past 4 a.m., by which time the gas had been put out, and the sitting was continued by daylight. About 4 o'clock a moment of lassitude arrived, and the Committee was counted out. Many Members, including the writer, thought that all was over and went home; but about sixty remained, and when the Speaker returned to the House he found a quorum. The struggle was then renewed and went on with increased vigour till a quarter past seven, when a count-out was at last effected, though with some difficulty, as the men had their blood up by that time. Great consternation was occasioned in various households by the non-appearance of their masters before breakfast-time. One lady came down to the House in order to look for her husband. Everybody was full of indignation this morning, and most anxious for alterations in the rules of the House; but the feeling has somewhat cooled down, and probably some very slight changes will ultimately be made. . . .

5th July.— . . . There was a full attendance of Members at the beginning of the evening, in expectation of some discussion, and possibly some scene, in connection with the great Obstruction question.

The Government have been considering for the last two or three days what course they should adopt; and Sir Stafford has had several consultations with the Speaker, with Lord Hartington, and with other Members; the result of which has been, that it would be inexpedient to make any change in the forms of the House under any influences of irritation, and that the best thing would be to let the question of changes stand over till next session, promising that it shall be carefully considered in the meanwhile.

Sir Stafford made a statement to this effect, which was well received by the House. He took occasion at the same time to make a temperate but a marked reference to the proceedings of Monday night, and to intimate that they were condemned by the judgment of the House and of the country. This was warmly cheered on both sides. . . .

The storm of Monday night seems to have wonderfully cleared the air.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] POTSDAM, 11*th July* 1877.

MY BELOVED MAMA,— . . . The Oriental war is much talked of everywhere; all *lovers* of England are *so* anxious that this opportunity should not pass by, of gaining a firm footing in Egypt! It would be such an essential, *wise*, useful thing. Perhaps you remember how pleased all who wish England well, were, when the shares of the Suez Canal were bought, because everybody thought it was the first step towards what appears the *wisest* policy in the *real* interest of England, and her rule in India. No one can understand why the present Cabinet hesitate so long to take a step which seems so *evident* an advantage, and which England would often regret later, should the present opportunity be missed. . . . I think England has a *great* mission there, and a *firm* future would be secured to Egypt itself. How I wish this could be done in your reign! Who can it harm?

I hear some people in England think that Prince Bismarck has an *arrière-pensée* when he expresses his conviction that England *ought* to take Egypt. He has no other *arrière-pensée*, but that he considers a *strong* England of great use in Europe, and one can only rejoice that he thinks and feels so. As to a wish to annex Holland, and let France take Belgium, I assure you that it is nothing but a *myth*, and a very ridiculous one. Everybody who knows the state of things here thoroughly, knows that nobody of importance ever entertained so wild and crazy an idea. . . . VICTORIA.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th July* 1877.—At half past four, left with Beatrice, Leopold, Lady Abercromby and the two Equerries for London, driving in the open landau and four, with an escort, from Paddington Station, through the Park to Marlborough House, where Bertie and Alix were giving a garden party which was very successful. There were fewer people than at Chiswick, but I, and most people, liked it much better. The garden is quite large enough, and one could see everyone so well and easily. There were several tents, very prettily arranged, and the band of the Coldstreams played. We had tea in a beautiful Indian tent. Bertie walked about with me, but both he and dear Alix, who looked very pretty, in white, were very anxious about Eddy, who was in bed with a feverish attack. Sir Wm. Gull, whom I saw, hoped it would not be serious. The other children were all there, also Lenchen with her four children, Mary Teck with hers, George C[ambridge], the Paris, Edward Weimar and Ernest Leiningen. All the Corps Diplomatique, and the Members of the present and late Government, excepting Mr. Gladstone, were there. Lord Beaconsfield came up to me, looking quite brisk, and said, " The crisis has begun and I shall need all your Majesty's support." He expected Lords Derby, Salisbury, and Carnarvon would all resign, but that he hoped all would end well. It was on the declaration of going to Sevastopol [Constantinople] being a *casus belli* !

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15*th July* 1877.—The Queen has received Lord Beaconsfield's telegram, but she feels so *excessively anxious and* so *seriously* alarmed at the *state of affairs*, and the Chancellor's report seemed to her so *far less* satisfactory than Lord

Beaconsfield's letter, that she has *decided* to put off going to Osborne till the *Thursday*; as she can *then*, she hopes, hear of some decision before all is too late!

The Queen thinks there are some important points to be immediately considered, which she fears may be *neglected*. 1. Has, as she asked the Duke of Richmond to tell Lord Beaconsfield on Wednesday last, Lord Odo been desired to tell the German Government of the *very* Russian tone of Prince Reuss? 2. These monstrous cruelties committed *must* be protested against. The Queen *insisted* on it in June '76 about the Bulgarians, and *now* she must do the *same* in this much worse instance.

And *now* comes the most important question of *preventing* the Russians from going to *Constantinople even temporarily*. Lord Beaconsfield says, in his letter, that the decision (which is *not satisfactory* to her, excepting as a *preliminary step*) was "subject to her *pleasure*," and that the "phrase *casus belli* is not used, but reserved for a subsequent occasion if necessary." The Chancellor, however, gave the Queen to understand that the *temporary occupation* of Constantinople (which HE doubts the Russians intend) *would not*, or *could not* be prevented! The Queen expressed her *great astonishment* and her extreme *vexation* and *alarm* at this, and must solemnly repeat, that *if* we allow *this*, *England*, as Lord Beaconsfield himself stated in a letter she received about a week before she left Scotland, *would no longer exist as a great Power*, and that the Government itself could *not* exist, which *permitted this*!! The Queen is feeling quite ill with anxiety. *All*, so far, is *right*, IF *only we are prepared to move in case of danger*. The alarm will come and we shall be too late. Be firm, and act as *you intended*. The Queen asked Sir Howard Elphinstone, who is a first-rate engineer officer, whether we could defend Gallipoli by the fleet only, as she *heard some* people maintained? and he said: "*Impossible!* It would only require a *small* force, but *troops must* be *on board* the *fleet* to *act.*" Not a *minute* should be *lost*—and we are delaying day after day, and *week* after *week*, and the danger is at hand! We shall have to fight *for our own* interests when it is too late! The Queen was full of hope on Thursday, after hearing from Lord Beaconsfield; but the Chancellor *discouraged* her *dreadfully. We must be prepared.* The Chancellor said Lord Derby would go *any lengths short of declaring war*; but that is the *old* story; and the Queen feels really quite ill from the strain caused by the *great anxiety* for the honour of our dear country. There will be a *frightful* massacre of the Christians if these *horrible cruelties* are tolerated. See what Mr. Layard says to-day. If Lord Beaconsfield will have the Cabinet on Tuesday, and *show* the danger of not being prepared, while we do everything to try and agree to a peace, he could come down to the Queen afterwards, and any *further* decision could be come to on *Wednesday.*

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, 16*th July* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his duty to your Majesty:

He returns copy of her Royal and Imperial Highness's letter. It might have been dictated by Prince Bismarck.

If the Queen of England wishes to undertake the government of Egypt, her Majesty does not require the suggestion, or permission, of P. Bismarck.

At this moment, Lord Beaconsfield understands that there is an offer from the Porte to sell its suzerainty of Egypt, Crete, and Cyprus to your Majesty. It has not been formally placed before the Foreign Office, but of the fact there is no doubt.

Queen Victoria to the German Crown Princess.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th July* 1877.

DARLING CHILD,— . . . I will now answer your letter of the 11th, relative to Egypt, the proposal about which *coming from you* has indeed surprised me very much, and seems to me Bismarck's view. Neither *Turkey* or *Egypt* have done *anything* to *offend us*. Why should *we* make a *wanton* aggression, such as the taking of Egypt would be? It is not *our* custom to *annex countries* (as it is in *some others*) unless we are obliged, and forced to do so, as in the case of the Transvaal Republic. Prince Bismarck would probably like us to seize Egypt, as it would be giving a great slap in the face of France, and be taking a mean advantage of her inability to protest. It would be a *most greedy* action. I own I *can't* for a moment understand *your* suggesting it.

What *we intend* to do, we shall do *without* Prince Bismarck's permission, for he has repeatedly mentioned it to Lord Odo Russell. Buying the Suez shares is quite another thing. That was *more or less* a *commercial transaction*. How can *we* protest against *Russia's* doings, if *we* do the *same ourselves*? . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th July* 1877.—Telegrams with accounts of Russian defeats and successes, and of dreadful cruelties perpetrated by them. Saw Lord Beaconsfield, who had just had a Cabinet, about which he told me a great deal, as well as of the previous one, and the dreadful difficulties he had had to contend with. Prepared as he was on Saturday for only *two* resignations, he found that all, excepting Lord J. Manners and Sir M. H. Beach, would have resigned on Lord J. Manners' proposal for calling up the fleet to Constantinople, and on Lord Beaconsfield's advising that, should Russians go there. it should be considered a *casus belli*. Greatly surprised and shocked, he told them all to-day of my letters, which had great effect. The Cabinet had finally agreed that, in the event of Russia not leaving Constantinople again on a given day, Lord Beaconsfield would have to advise declaring war, and if the Cabinet again changed their minds, then he would have to find another. The Turks were to be advised to hasten their fortifications, for one great danger, as Sir L. Simmons had pointed out, was that, should Gallipoli be in possession of the Russians, our fleet can no longer go up to Constantinople! But, if the Turks held it, then we should be safe and able to support them. The news from Austria are better. Count Beust had heard from Count Andrassy, that there was no secret understanding of any kind with Russia, though Count Schouvaloff maintains there is, and that Austria would adhere to the points mentioned, which would be the reason for acting with us. The Russians were not so successful as they appeared to be, and things were therefore looking more *couleur de rose*. The delay and difficulty in increasing the Mediterranean garrisons arose from the Military Committee of General Officers, who raised every difficulty, amongst others that of transport. Lord Salisbury, however, got over this by saying that there were three large Indian troopships, which could take 5,000 men at three days' notice, only delaying the Indian relief for a period. The authorities did not like breaking up the force of 20,000 men at Shorncliffe, which was ready in all its details for starting on an expedition. However, that will be overruled. He mentioned Sir E. Commerell as a man of immense daring, which I said his manner would not lead one to think, but I had a most high opinion of him. Lord Beaconsfield said that the Note to be presented this day to Count Schouvaloff (which I annex) was a very stiff one, but that "I have taken the cold water out of it." Then spoke of the Russian atrocities and cruelties, which common justice called for being remonstrated against, and he said that it would be brought before Parliament.

Sir Bartle Frere to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN, 30*th June* 1877.

MADAM,—By the steamer which arrived last night I had the great honour and pleasure of receiving your Majesty's most gracious letter of the 30th May, and the beautiful prints and photograph which accompanied it. I cannot express how deeply Lady Frere and I, and our family, feel the great honour done us, by your Majesty's kind and gracious thought of us, and we shall lose no time in having the portraits hung in one of the rooms here, where we shall see them daily, and be able to show them to those of your Majesty's faithful African subjects, who often ask to be allowed to see "their Queen's house"—hitherto containing little in its furniture or surroundings to justify its title to so honourable a designation.

The older colonists—Dutch as they are called, though there seem to be nearly as many French as Dutch families among them—are in many ways a very interesting and amusing set of people; very simple and old-fashioned, and wedded to their own ways, very sensitive, and apt to nurse slights and fancied injuries; but firmly convinced that everything your Majesty orders is right, and that it is only evil-minded Ministers and wicked Governors who harm them. They are as little like European republicans, or American or Australian radicals, as any people can be; probably very like French Canadians, or the old Dutch families on the banks of the Hudson.

They are very fond of dancing, though the amusement is rather frowned upon by the Calvinist ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, many of whom are young Scotchmen who have graduated at Utrecht or Leyden—and have not enlarged their views there, except in the direction of what they call "Rationalism" or "Darwinianism," when, like Mr. Burgers, they are in danger of expulsion from the Dutch Orthodox Church.

The great social event of the year, in Cape Town, is the ball "in honour of her Majesty's birthday"—this year postponed till the anniversary of your Majesty's Coronation, to suit the late meeting of Parliament. The Members, some of them living 600 or 700 miles off, are always anxious to attend, as an essential part of their annual visit to the South African capital. We were told that this year the attendance was unusually large, and all seemed greatly pleased; dancing, on that one day, is pardonable, even in the eyes of the strictest, and we heard that among the innovations most generally approved was the substitution of a small refreshment-room for the usual card-room—some even of the card-playing elders holding that there was a peculiar pleasure "in attending to only one thing at a time." Mr. Burgers was there, and danced as if he were neither ex-President nor ex-divine. He is a singular and evidently very clever man, and has great powers of attracting and attaching followers, but I am much disappointed in what I have seen of him since he arrived here. There is, to my mind, more of the charlatan, and less of the poetical element in his inconsistency, than I had expected—when picturing something more like Lamartine, than the comparatively prosaic reality of South Africa. . . .

[My daughters] beg to be allowed to join in dutiful and respectful homage to your Majesty, with Lady Frere and your Majesty's most faithful and devoted subject and servant, H. B. E. Frere.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] Pavillon d'Ostende, 21*st July* 1877.

My beloved Mama,— . . . I am very sorry I was so misunderstood about Egypt. Of course I did not mean that a "wanton aggression" on an unoffending friend should be made, nor an annexation; but that virtually England's influence should be paramount there (under one form or another) both for the benefit of England's interests and for the happiness of an oppressed and unfortunate people. This wish has been one which many many English, both military men and others, have entertained *before this war* was thought of, and I think that *they* certainly did not think so because it was a "view of Bismarck's," any more than *I* did! How and *when* such a thing could come to pass, is of course quite *another* thing. That English influence should be stronger in the East than Russian seems to me desirable in more than one way, and any distrust of Prince Bismarck (should he share this opinion) would not make me change my view of the subject. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 25*th July* 1877.—The Queen has seen and talked with Lord Salisbury fully, with whose sound views she was greatly satisfied. He is deeply impressed with the extreme importance of our being completely prepared for eventualities, which may shortly arise, first, for negotiation for peace, second, for war.

And it is no use putting this off. We must fully consider, and without delay, what should be done.

If in the first instance it should be negotiations for peace, we must take the greatest care not to be left out altogether, and to prevent a peace being made which would give Russia the preponderance over Turkey, and in Europe generally. Secondly, in case of war all our plans and preparations should be made to act up to our declarations.

There are other very important considerations to which the Queen would also wish to draw Lord Beaconsfield's attention. One of them is to ascertain through Mr. Layard what the Turks would agree to, and what we could agree to. Lord Derby should write to Mr. Layard, to ascertain the first. Another very important consideration is the possibility of Turkey making peace separately with Russia, and becoming her vassal, a great danger. And the last, and perhaps most important of all, as it may avert the probability if not possibility of war between us and Russia, is to let it be known to the Emperor Alexander and Prince Gortchakoff, that we shall go to war with Russia if it holds Constantinople beyond the most limited and given time. This might be done to prevent war. The Queen has always thought that if Russia knew this, she would desist, and this has been the opinion of Lord Odo Russell, Lord Lyons, and Lord A. Loftus.

The Queen would ask Lord Beaconsfield to bring all these points before the Cabinet, which she would much wish him to summon as soon as possible, as well as separately before Lord Derby, Mr. Hardy, and others. She has talked this also over with Lord Salisbury.

The Queen will be much pleased that Lord Beaconsfield (accompanied by Mr. Corry) should stop here from Saturday to Monday. She hopes he will consider all these points before he comes here.

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, *25th July* 1877.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to report to your Majesty that, on the resumption of the discussion of the South Africa Bill[1] in Committee this morning, Mr. O'Donnell (the Member for Dungarvan) immediately moved that the Committee should report progress, and proceeded to open up a discussion on the general merits of the Bill, which had been already twice approved by large majorities, once on the occasion of the second reading, and again on the motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair. After a considerable discussion, in the course of which Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Lowther answered certain questions addressed to them on the subject of the Bill, Mr. Parnell commenced a long speech (supplying himself with a glass of water in anticipation of it), rambling into all manner of collateral questions, which led to his being repeatedly called to order by the Chairman. He at length avowed that he took great interest in preventing and thwarting the intentions of the Government, meaning thereby the Bill. Sir Stafford moved that the words be taken down and reported to the House, which having been done, he proceeded to move that Mr. Parnell, having wilfully and persistently obstructed the business of the House, was guilty of contempt of the House. This resolution he proposed to follow up with another, declaring that Mr. Parnell was suspended from service in the House until Friday next, on which day Sir Stafford will move some resolutions with regard to business. Mr. Parnell was called on to explain his words, and then to leave the House. He gave no explanation worthy of the name, and was therefore called on to leave the House, which he did.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Lord Hartington and most of the Opposition leaders were unfortunately absent. Mr. Whitbread began by expressing a hope that nothing would be done in haste, and that the motion might not be pressed at once. Mr. Sullivan and some other Irish Members defended Mr. Parnell on the ground that his language was not unparliamentary, and that every Member had a right to obstruct the intentions of the Government if he chose. Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen suggested an adjournment; and Mr. Hardy, on the part of the Government, assented to this and proposed the adjournment till Friday. This was agreed to.

Great care will now be required in taking the next step.

26*th July*.— . . . Sir Stafford gave notice, at the beginning of the evening, of the resolutions which he means to propose to-morrow. They will be two. The first declares that when a Member, after having twice been ruled to be out of order, continues to disregard the authority of the Chair, he may be put to silence by a vote of the House, during the remainder of the debate or during the sitting of the Committee. The second takes away the power, which Members now have when the House is in Committee, of making repeated motions for reporting progress.

Sir Stafford withdrew (at Lord Hartington's invitation) the motion made yesterday against Mr. Parnell, not desiring to complicate the consideration of the general question with one of a personal character.

27th July.—Sir Stafford Northcote . . . has the honour to report to your Majesty that the whole evening has been occupied with the discussion of the two resolutions proposed by him on the subject of public business. A good many amendments have been moved on the first resolution—the one enabling the House to put a Member to silence for disregarding the order of the Speaker—but they have all been negatived by large majorities, and the resolution itself has been carried by more than 300 to about 40. The debate has on the whole been very temperate, but not brilliant.

The second resolution has just been moved, and the Irish Members are moving the adjournment of the debate. It is probable that there will be a very late sitting, and some Members have been sent to bed with a view to their coming back at 7 o'clock to relieve the night-watchers.

1st Aug.—Sir Stafford Northcote . . . trusts that your Majesty will graciously excuse his not having written his usual letter last night. The House was absorbed in a long and anxious struggle; and Sir Stafford did not like to quit it until very late in the evening, and then only to lie down for an hour or two.

The Committee on the South Africa Confederation Bill was resumed between five and six o'clock; the point which had been reached the night before was the third clause, and there were sixty-three clauses in all. Obstructive motions were at once begun, and between two and three hours were spent over the fourth clause, which the Government had declared it unnecessary to pass, and which they accordingly proposed to strike out. After this some little progress was made; but dilatory tactics were again resorted to, and a certain number of Members on the Government side of the House went home about eleven o'clock with the understanding that they were to come down about six or seven in the morning to relieve those who were to sit through the night.

Mr. Hardy, Lord John Manners, and Sir Michael Beach went home much later, while Sir Stafford and Mr. Cross remained in the House till about nine o'clock this morning, when they went away for a couple of hours, during which their colleagues returned to their posts. At four o'clock Mr. Childers took Mr. Raikes's place as Chairman of the Committee, so as to allow the latter to get some sleep. Mr. Smith afterwards relieved Mr. Childers; and Sir H. Selwin-Ibbetson relieved Mr. Smith. Mr. Raikes resumed the Chair between eleven and twelve this morning. Meanwhile the obstructive party had brought matters to a deadlock, and from two o'clock onwards till past eleven no progress was made. Seven Irish Members (Mr. Biggar, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Connor Power, Captain Nolan, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Kirk) kept on making motions to report progress, or proposing ridiculous amendments. Every now and then there was a scene, when someone was called to order, and language of an unparliamentary kind was indulged in. About three o'clock Mr. Fawcett,[1] who had been urging the Government to give way, though he did not vote against them, left the House; and soon afterwards Mr. Leonard Courtney[1] did the same. These departures were arranged for theatrical effect, but did not produce much beyond a laugh. All the rest of the Members present, especially Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Forster, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen, strongly supported the Government. The Irishmen were very obstinate, and are said to have telegraphed to Dublin, asking other Members to come over. At one time it seemed as though the struggle might continue for two or more days; and it was seriously considered whether a motion should not be made to suspend the refractory Members.

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[1] Both Mr. Fawcett, afterwards Postmaster-General, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Courtney, were vehement opponents of the South Africa Bill.

However, between twelve and one this morning (or rather this afternoon) the powers of resistance seemed to be exhausted; and the Bill was ultimately carried through the Committee about 2.10, amid loud cheering.

On the whole it is a very satisfactory victory for the majority; and it may now be hoped that obstruction is defeated for the session.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

GOODWOOD, 1*st Aug.* 1877.— . . . I suppose we shall now sit with our hands folded and let the Russians do their worst, and I see nothing to prevent their taking Constantinople.

I fear we shall cut a very ridiculous figure in the eyes of the world, as we can bark but dare not bite, and we shall very soon find ourselves left out of the councils of Europe, and we shall have only ourselves to thank for it. . . . ALBERT EDWARD.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 6*th Aug.* 1877.— . . . We must look forward to make *some* plan for the *future*. The Queen will be leaving in a fortnight, and all the Ministers *cannot* remain. *Some fixed* plan *must* be agreed *on*, and we must not go on from week to week, from day to day, without a definite plan. What is to be allowed? What opposed? On what shall we take our stand? *Something must* be decided, for the Queen *must* have *some* knowledge of what is going to happen before she goes far away. . . .

Really Lord Derby would seem to be moved by nothing. Austria is clearly not to be trusted, and we can *reckon* on *no one*. We must therefore seriously consider what is to be done. The Queen earnestly hopes to hear from Lord Beaconsfield to-morrow. We must not rely on the Turkish success[1] and therefore do nothing. . . .

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[1] At Plevna. See Introductory Note.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8*th Aug*. 1877.—Saw Colonel Wellesley,[1] who had just arrived after travelling six days and six nights, without stopping. Had a great deal of very interesting conversation with him before and after dinner, the result of which is as follows:—Colonel Wellesley described the Emperor of Russia as most unhappy, being the greatest enemy of war and most anxious for peace, but that he had been forced into it. Gortchakoff and Ignatieff were the promoters, and the Empress and Mr. Gladstone's attitude the chief causes in bringing it about. Nothing Colonel Wellesley could say would persuade the Russians that when Parliament met, the Government would not be turned out, and the Opposition come in! A Mr. Alexander, a sort of envoy of Mr. Gladstone's, had told them this. Austria was playing fast and loose with Russia, and he was sure there was some written agreement between the three Northern Powers. Germany wished to see Russia weakened. Colonel Wellesley was afraid England might think these Turkish victories might really change matters, and it was well we should know that in the end, though he thought it might take *six months*, the Russians were bound to win, as the Turks were too ill led and too ill provided. The Russians had too overwhelming a force to bring into action not to succeed. Therefore it was very important that we should *try* and *stop* the war and try and prevent the Turks being too much weakened. That if we really intended to fight, we must be prepared to make great sacrifices, for we could not afford to be beaten. Fifteen thousand men on our side would not do it.

I agreed in all this and said I was most anxious *not* to fight Russia, but that we could not submit to Russia preponderating in the East. Colonel Wellesley entirely agreed, but said he thought this ought to be told the *Emperor* confidentially, for that it might stop the war. We could have prevented it had we only spoken out long ago. He thinks the Emperor *would* stop if he were told this, for if we, who were so much richer and so powerful, hesitated to make war, how much more would Russia hesitate to do so, who was bankrupt? He only hoped he might convey some friendly and conciliatory messages to the Emperor, which I said he certainly might. The latter said and believed that the Prince of Wales and I were anti-Russian, which I said was not untrue, for we felt strongly the way in which Russia had behaved all along, and how they had instigated the Bulgarian insurrection which had led to the massacres. We felt the danger to which our interests were exposed, but I was most anxious for peace, while at the same time not giving way an inch to Russian supremacy. That I had urged and pressed Lord Beaconsfield and the Government always to speak out and be firm. Colonel Wellesley asked if he might tell this to the Emperor, to which I replied, certainly. I asked him to repeat to Lord Beaconsfield my great anxiety that Colonel Wellesley should be the person to tell the Emperor of our wish to be conciliatory and to help him, which Colonel Wellesley is most anxious we should, as he said the Emperor was in a most dreadful state and position, not being well able to afford to be beaten and get out of the war. That for both countries it would be much better that the Russians should exactly know *what* we could *not* stand, viz. their going to Constantinople. This war would ruin Russia and paralyse her for fifty years. The Russians must have another campaign. Failure was impossible, ruin was preferable to that, for Democracy would be worse in Russia than in any other country, the whole of it being mined by it. The war was very unpopular with the soldiers.

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[1] Third son of 1st Earl Cowley; British Military Attaché at the headquarters of the Emperor of Russia.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Osborne, *9th Aug.* 1877.—The Queen wrote at *one* o'clock (for she never hardly goes to bed before, but generally after one) and very hurriedly, and she would wish to add a few words besides thanking Lord Beaconsfield for his letter received this morning.

What she wishes to repeat again and to *insist on* is that the Emperor should be told distinctly though confidentially that we will *not allow* him to go to Constantinople, and that that would be a *casus belli.*

This is the *only* honest *way* of acting, and Colonel Wellesley quite bears out what Lord Odo told her at Balmoral, at the beginning of June, viz. that it *would stop* the war, for on no account would they commence a war with us. Lord Salisbury told the Queen on the 24th July that this was what he earnestly wished could be conveyed to the Emperor, as he felt sure it would stop him. But this, coupled with friendly assurances of a wish to help in negotiations for peace, is *absolutely necessary.* It would not be a formally written note, but confidentially through Colonel Wellesley to the Emperor. We have six months to prepare and we shall almost certainly prevent the war. But concealment would be as fatal as it would be wrong.

Small measures will be of little use. But, as we have six months before us, no doubt we can prepare for all contingencies. The Russians, Colonel Wellesley says, *will not* and *cannot* afford to be beaten, in spite of the Turkish victories which must not deceive us.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 11*th Aug.* 1877.—At half past five drove down to Osborne Pier with Beatrice, Horatia S. and Harriet P. joining us there, and we got into the barge (Captain Thomson steering) and rowed out to the *Thunderer*, which had come round less than an hour before. We went on board, being received by Captain Wilson,[1] who is very pleasing. We went all over the ship. Visiting the turret and crawling in was somewhat awkward and disagreeable. Too many of us crept in, and there was hardly space to stand between the guns 19 feet in length, 38 ton guns. Everything was explained to us, and Captain Wilson ordered the two guns to be put through the motions of loading (done from below), and then run forward, back again, raised, depressed or entirely lowered. The turret revolves by steam power, the guns being worked by hydraulic pressure, by simply moving a handle. Captain Wilson showed us a dumb Whitehead torpedo, an extraordinary-looking thing, explaining the system by which it was sent into the water and exploded, on striking the object aimed at. It is in the shape of a fish. I looked into the engine-room, the officers' mess and Lord C. Beresford's[1] cabin, which was very comfortably fitted up, and in which stood his little Chinese servant. We took tea with Captain Wilson in his cabin. I found the ladders rather steep, but I have not forgotten my *sea legs.* We landed again at Osborne Pier, and waited a little while in the carriage to see the *Thunderer* steam away to Cowes. She is very ugly-looking, more like a floating bridge or lighthouse, than a ship. Lady Ailesbury (Maria Marchioness), Lord and Lady Wilton (he looking dreadfully ill), Captain Wilson, Lord C. Beresford, Lady Waterpark, and General Ponsonby dined. Captain Wilson, in speaking of the *Thunderer*, said he was not afraid of her at sea, only she must not be pressed, as she is a dead weight, without elasticity. Lord Charles Beresford is very funny, beaming with fun and a trifle cracky, but clever, and a good officer.

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[1] Afterwards Admiral Sir Arthur Wilson.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Osborne, 14*th Aug.* 1877.—The Queen gives these lines again to Colonel Wellesley, and would ask Lord Beaconsfield to give his serious attention to the almost insuperable difficulties which present themselves to him if he is to have two different instructions, especially if this confidential communication from the Queen, authorised by the Prime Minister, is to be unknown to Lord Derby. The Emperor will ask, and it will be impossible to prevent his finding out there is a division in the Cabinet; anyhow, the Emperor will tell Gortchakoff, who will telegraph to Schouvaloff . . . and so on. And the mischief caused may be very great. On the other hand, the Queen knows the reasons for not letting anyone know. Still, great mischief may arise from concealment, and Colonel Wellesley is to put all before Lord Beaconsfield. Then again if we warn, we must, as Lord Beaconsfield has *promised*, *abide* by it, and be *prepared to act.*

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[1] Second son of the 4th Marquis of Waterford, a prominent figure in the naval, political, and social life of the late Victorian and the Edwardian periods; eventually Admiral Lord Beresford.

Lord Salisbury made a very strong speech to Colonel Wellesley, which he is to tell Lord Beaconsfield of. All this makes the Queen very anxious.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 16*th Aug.* 1877.—Just before four, saw Lord Beaconsfield, who at once spoke of Colonel Wellesley, and that the difficulty had been easily got over. He had been given his formal, official answer to deliver, after which he would say, as from himself, that he had had several confidential conversations with me, as well as the Prime Minister, and then he was to state what had been agreed on; that this was perhaps the last chance of stopping the war, and above all of preventing our being forced into taking part in it, by showing how determined we were; that this was a most important mission with which Colonel Wellesley had been entrusted, and that he had possibly in his hands the power of settling the chances of peace or war, and that there were great occasions when certain risks must be run. Colonel Wellesley had seemed to understand it all.

Then Lord Beaconsfield told me at some length about the last Cabinet, and has since written me a memorandum[1] on it.

Colonel Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

GORNI-STOODEN, BULGARIA, 30*th* *Aug.* 1877.—Colonel Wellesley with his humble duty to your Majesty.

In order that the confidential communication which your Majesty and Lord Beaconsfield authorised Colonel Wellesley to make to the Emperor of Russia should be of any value, it was necessary that his Majesty should entertain no doubt as to the accuracy and truth of Colonel Wellesley's words. The difficulty of Colonel Wellesley's task thus consisted in convincing the Emperor of the absolute truth of the intelligence he brought, and in at the same time preserving the secrecy of the communication. Had Colonel Wellesley merely mentioned the matter as a personal impression of his own, without the support of actual knowledge of facts, the Emperor would have paid but slight attention to the news. On the other hand, had Colonel Wellesley simply informed the Emperor of a decision of the Queen and her Majesty's Government under certain contingencies, his Majesty would have immediately communicated with Count Schouvaloff, and the language held by Colonel Wellesley would soon have been made public.

Colonel Wellesley after much consideration and, as he believes, in accordance both with your Majesty's letter to him and the memorandum which he drew up for his guidance after his conversation with the Prime Minister, determined to adopt the following plan of proving to the Emperor the truth of the communication and at the same time of ensuring as much secrecy as possible on the part of his Majesty.

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[1] This document is printed in full in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 5. No definite decisions were arrived at, but there was a general agreement that England would interfere if Russia again menaced Constantinople, and that British policy would be to prevent a second campaign.

Colonel Wellesley told the Emperor that he was in possession of information with regard to the policy of England, which could not fail to be of the deepest interest, but that he could only communicate it on the condition of secrecy. He then informed his Majesty what would be the position of England in the event of a second campaign, adding that he knew for a fact that the decision had actually been come to.

Colonel Wellesley went on to say that, when he was made aware of the line England would take in the event of a renewal of hostilities in the spring, he ventured to express his opinion that the Emperor should be informed of the decision of your Majesty and the Government. The great objection to this was that such a measure would probably be regarded in the light of menace to Russia, and encouragement to Turkey. This difficulty was at last obviated by Colonel Wellesley's obtaining the permission of your Majesty, with the approval of Lord Beaconsfield, to make the communication confidentially to the Emperor. Colonel Wellesley then said that it was needless to point out the difficulty of his position should the matter be made known, adding that he felt sure that, as the communication had been made especially in the interests of Russia, he need entertain no fear of the secret being divulged to his detriment.

The Emperor assured him most positively that he would mention the matter to no one, and thanked him sincerely for the frankness with which he had spoken. The next day his Majesty again said, "Quant à ce que vous m'avez dit hier, je garde cela pour moi."

Before leaving England, Colonel Wellesley saw Count Schouvaloff, and said to him how earnestly he hoped that the war would come to a close this year, as he feared the effect which a renewal of hostilities in the spring might produce in England. Colonel Wellesley made use of this expression in order that Count Schouvaloff might prepare the way. This the Russian Ambassador has evidently done, as the Emperor told Colonel Wellesley that he was not much surprised to hear the intelligence he brought, as his Majesty had just received a letter from Count Schouvaloff expressing the same fears.

The Emperor listened to what Colonel Wellesley had to say with the greatest kindness, and although of course much distressed at the decision which had been arrived at, his Majesty betrayed no signs of annoyance at the communication being made. . . .

Colonel Wellesley believes that the knowledge which the Emperor now possesses of the real state of affairs has already had much effect, and that every effort will be made to bring the war to a speedy termination. His Majesty's great difficulty in making peace on such conditions as Turkey is now likely to agree to, consists in the attitude of his own people, among whom great discontent is expressed as to the manner in which the war has been conducted and the money spent.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, *7th Sept.* 1877.—The Turco-Russian War is unexampled in its savageness, while its commencement was most iniquitous, being merely the result of the Emperor of Russia's declaring he could *not* accept a slap in the face (" *un soufflet* ") from the Turks, when they refused the proposals of the Conference. For this he has plunged his *own* nation as well as the Turkish Empire into *one* of the most *bloody wars* ever known, and which *no one* thought *possible* in this century. Under the cloak of RELIGION and under the pretence of obtaining just treatment for the so-called " Christians " of the principalities, but who are far worse than the Mussulmans, and who moreover had been *excited* to revolt by General Ignatieff, who prevented regular troops being sent out to quell the revolt, leading thereby to the so-called " Bulgarian atrocities " as the irregular troops were sent out, this *war of extermination* (for that it is) has been iniquitously commenced!

The question *now* arises whether in the *interests* of *humanity*, justice, and of the *British Empire*, this is to be allowed to go on to the bitter end; *merely* to *remain neutral*, and to avoid *all interference*?

The Queen is *most decidedly* of opinion that this should *not be*. When it is clear that Russia is not inclined to make even an offer for peace, but to press on for two campaigns, the Queen thinks we *ought* to *declare* that, having taken part in all the negotiations previous to the war, we feel *determined* to put *an end* to so horrible a *slaughter*, which the longer it lasts the more savage it will become, and the more difficult to stop. We should then propose *certain* terms *recapitulating* the disinterested *protestations* of *Russia*, and should at the same time say that, *if these* are *rejected*, we shall support Turkey in defence of her capital, and in *preventing* her *extermination*.

We should state this to the *other Powers*, *asking them* to *join us* in *preventing* further bloodshed *either* by *enforcing our terms* by negotiation or else by *force* of *arms*. That we shall be *drawn* into the *conflict* if it goes on is *certain*, and that it will be far less serious and far less likely to cause a general European war if we pronounce ourselves in time.

The Cabinet should be asked to agree beforehand to *this line* of action when the time comes, and no fear of the Opposition, which has done its worst, should deter this country from doing her duty to humanity, and to her own Empire, which would be most seriously jeopardised by a continuation of our present policy.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 11*th Sept.* 1877 (5 p.m.).—Lord Beaconsfield, before writing to your Majesty on the important subject of your Majesty's two last letters, has been waiting for two events, Colonel Wellesley's report and the result of the battle of

Plevna.[1] To-day's telegrams leave him in ignorance or doubt of both events, and he is in the dark.

As to the Cabinet, it will not be desirable to attempt to pledge the Cabinet to a decisive policy in the event of a second campaign being threatened, while it is still possible that all may be accomplished rationally in the first campaign.

A second campaign must be announced or inevitable before the projected step could be taken with success. He will therefore humbly ask permission to keep to himself at present your Majesty's last confidential memorandum.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

Balmoral, 12*th Sept.* 1877.—I wrote the memorandum in consequence of your expressed determination to prevent a second campaign, and because you wished me to speak strongly to the Ministers I should see. Mr. Hardy has seen it and could show it to the others I shall see. To wait till a second campaign is announced may be too late. To agree to a particular line of conduct in a given contingency can do no harm—but good. Always putting off has been our weakness. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Balmoral, 5*th Nov.* 1877 ("Inkerman Day").—The Queen has to thank Lord Beaconsfield for a *most interesting* and important letter received yesterday. Lord Carnarvon will evidently resign.

She must own that she is shocked at his views, for how *can* he think true religion and civilisation can be advanced by Russians who are more barbarous and cruel almost than the Turks, though they may *not* kill or murder in the same way, but the slow killing by imprisonment and exile to Siberia, and ill-usage of every kind which *no* one *hears* of, is as bad if not worse.

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[1] Throughout the autumn months the Russians made several desperate and unsuccessful attempts to take Plevna.

Lord Derby *must* be overruled, and no doubt will be so, as also Sir Stafford Northcote; and the others seem all nearly agreed as to the main object.

One thing, however, strikes the Queen as not quite the same as what Lord Beaconsfield stated as the "Shibboleth" in his letter of 4th September. In *that* he says "NO SECOND CAMPAIGN *must be the Shibboleth of England*, and it is of the utmost importance that your Majesty should use your Majesty's influence and prepare the minds of those of your Majesty's Ministers whom your Majesty may see in the interval for this great result." (This she has done.) If Lord Beaconsfield will look at her letter of the 5th, in answer, he will see what *her* views are on the subject.

Then he speaks of "Constantinople" and Russia's giving a *written promise* that she will not go there. But by making this an agreement we *may indirectly sanction* their taking and keeping territories and places *quite as dangerous* to us as Constantinople and the Dardanelles, viz. Batoum, Erzeroum, etc. This *must* be *considered*, and the original "Shibboleth" of "no second campaign" be adhered to, which for the *sake* of *humanity* is *far more* important and *more likely* to find favour with the *British people* than the other. *Pray do not* let us *drift away* from *that.*

The Queen hopes that any delay Lord Beaconsfield may think necessary in stating what should be done if Russia refused, in which in fact *all* but three of the Ministers are pretty nearly agreed, should not be of long duration.

6th Nov.—The Queen is very anxious about the Lord Mayor's dinner, and the language to be held by the Ministers.

Lord Beaconsfield will recollect how much was said last year, and how much (most unjustly) his speech[1] was commented on as well as those of his colleagues, not only at the dinner on the 9th November, but on all public occasions, and how *every little divergence* of opinion was laid hold of. The Queen is therefore *most anxious* that a *complete* agreement and complete *uniformity* of language should be agreed upon, and she would *earnestly* urge almost an abstinence from any *opinion* as to *what* should or should not be done. But let great stress be laid on the necessity of preventing by all possible means the *continuation* of this dreadful and unjustifiable sanguinary war. Try and avoid saying *anything positive*, nothing that could let people make a handle of it for agitation.

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[1] See above, p. 436.

The news if true from Asia are very disastrous,[1] and may force on decided action.

Many thanks for Lord Beaconsfield's letter of the 4th.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *7th Nov.* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has this instant received your Majesty's box, containing letter of 5th instant, "Inkerman Day."

He replies to it immediately, as there is a Cabinet at three o'clock, and much pressure of business, and he wishes your Majesty not to rest under what is apparently a misconception.

When the "Shibboleth" was first mentioned with respect to these affairs, it was the intention of the Russians, at least as far as we could arrive at their plans, to close the present campaign as soon as possible, and prepare for a second and more effective one. Their intention was to base this on an armistice, and we should have had before us six months of warlike preparations and dangerous intrigues.

It was the policy of England to baffle this scheme if possible, and your Majesty, and your Majesty's Government have, Lord Beaconsfield thinks, *baffled* it. Russia now affects to think that no second campaign will be necessary, and that the present one need not close. This is the result of the message by Wellesley to the Emperor, and his subsequent conversation with his Imperial Majesty, and of the means that have been adopted to influence Russian opinion, or rather the opinion of the Russian Government.

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[1] On 4th Nov. the Turks were severely defeated before Erzeroum.

On the 28th October, the day before Lord Beaconsfield left Brighton,[1] he had a long and interesting conversation with, and sought by, Count Schouvaloff, in which his Excellency said, that if there were a second campaign, there would be war with England. The Emperor knew that well. Count Schouvaloff had impressed it also upon him.

With regard to obtaining an engagement with respect to the Dardanelles and Constantinople, this is with reference to the present campaign, if it go on, and disastrously to the Turks, and to save your Majesty's Government from the disgraceful position they might have been placed in last year, had the Russians, crossing the Balkans, advanced on Constantinople and Gallipoli.

Now, if they refuse our demand, we can take steps to prevent the mischief.

Lord Beaconsfield has not at all changed his policy about preventing, if possible, a second campaign, but from the altered circumstances, there are dangers to be incurred, which may take place *before* a second campaign.

Undoubtedly it would not be agreeable to England that Armenia should be possessed by Russia, or any portion of it, but we never in our original despatch treated that country, or any portion of it, as "British Interests." This was not from inadvertence, but because, had we done so, in addition to those we had defined, we should have been bound to go to war with Russia at once, for, in truth, the whole of the Ottoman Empire is a British Interest.

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[1] The Prime Minister spent three weeks in October at Brighton for his health.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 13*th Nov.* 1877.—Though the Queen wrote to Lord Beaconsfield yesterday, she must write again to send him this letter of Mr. Layard's which bears out all she said, and which adds to her great alarm. She has marked the passages which strike her most, and wishes to know if Lord Derby *still* pursues the unprecedented course of *not telling* him *anything* to *guide* him?

When will you communicate to the Emperor of Russia the decision of England about *Constantinople*? This letter from Mr. Layard is like many others, and the telegram in July which led to a decision of importance; but the *danger* of internal disorder at Constantinople and of the complete collapse of the army seems very *imminent.* We *shall* be *too late*!

In Lord Beaconsfield's letter of the 1st he says: "What the Cabinet will have to decide on at their meeting, is whether they shall make an immediate but secret communication to Russia requiring a written undertaking from Russia that she will not, under any circumstances, even occupy Constantinople."

After the Cabinet on the 5th, Lord Beaconsfield telegraphed in cypher that he had introduced the *proposed* policy, and that excepting Lord Carnarvon, "who was routed, the Cabinet were unanimous"!

Since then the Queen has heard *nothing*, which *alarms* her, as every *hour* is *precious.*

She urges, in the *very strongest* manner, that the necessary steps should not be delayed. Delay is Lord Derby's invariable course of conduct; after every Cabinet decision, a week or ten days elapsed, till the communication was prepared, another week till it was sent off, and probably a fortnight till it reached its destination!!

Events happened during the time, which altered everything, and thus *all* our intentions come *too late.* "*Trop tard*" is a terrible motto, and in one of poor

Mr. W. Hunt's[1] last letters to a friend, he said he feared this would be said of the Government.

Pray do *insist* on action, or the Russians will *crow over* us, and our uncertain and weak policy! Weak, because it is *delayed.*

Lord Beaconsfield has a good majority in his Cabinet, but we want *energy* like his own. Pray *do* beware of *delay*, for the state of Turkey is most alarming!

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

Secret.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14*th Nov.* 1877.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

Two or three days after the resolution of the Cabinet, to which your Majesty refers, a secret communication, indirect, but apparently to a certain extent authentic, was made to us as to possible terms of peace on the part of Russia.

The proposal respecting Bulgaria was ambiguous, and dangerous, and it was thought that if our predetermined application to Russia, limited, as it necessarily was, to Constantinople and the Dardanelles, were made at this moment, an interpretation might, and probably would, be put upon it, that we were prepared to accept the Bulgarian scheme.

The holding back of our application was entirely sanctioned, not to say suggested, by Lord Beaconsfield.

It will occasion no practical delay, as Lord Derby has distinctly, and earnestly, agreed that, if circumstances require it, as they may any hour, he will at once telegraph our demand to the Russian Government, and leave the form and language of the diplomatic instrument to be settled and sent afterwards.

The Rev. J. N. Dalton to Queen Victoria.

H.M.S. BRITANNIA, DARTMOUTH, 14*th Nov.* 1877. —Mr. Dalton presents his humble duty to the Queen,

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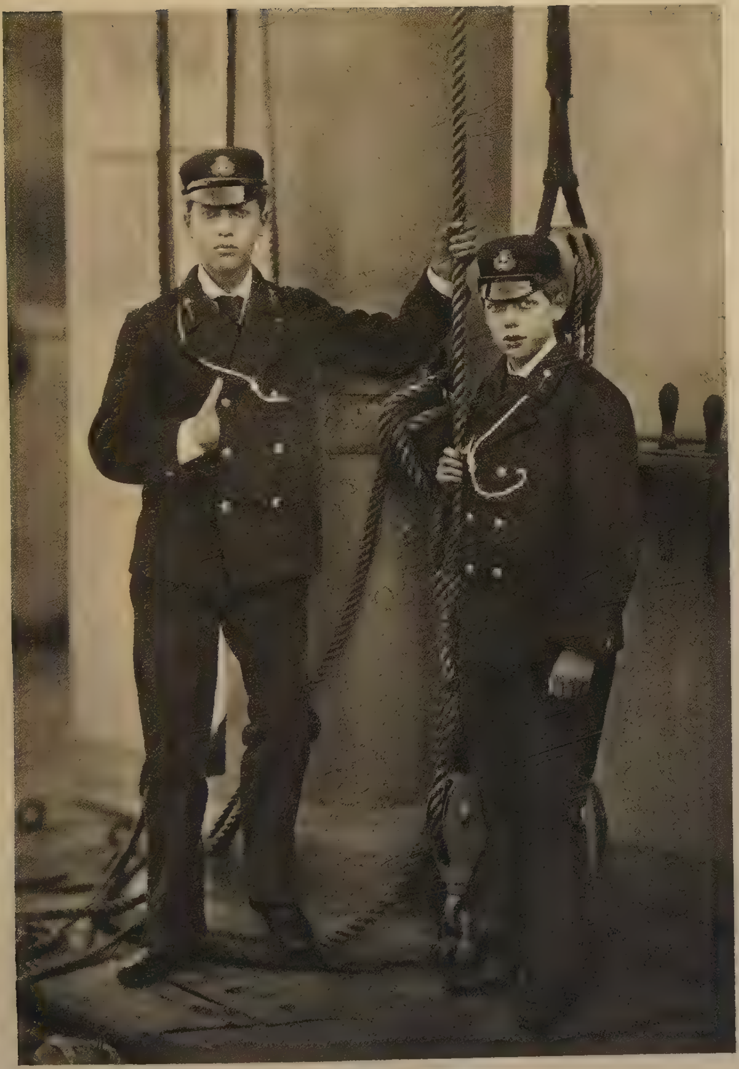
[1] Mr. Ward Hunt died on 29th July, and was succeeded as First Lord of the Admiralty by Mr. W. H. Smith.



T.R.H. Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales in the "Britannia."

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
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and, in accordance with her Majesty's commands, has the honour to inform her Majesty that Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales are both in thorough health. The elder of the two Princes has increased two pounds in weight since his arrival here. It is impossible that two lads could be in more robust health or happier than the two Princes are. Their studies also progress favourably. Mr. Dalton thinks there is no fear of the elder Prince working too hard, or overtaxing his powers, as your Majesty seems to fear: in fact he might work harder than he does without any risk of detriment. They both sleep well and have good appetites, and take their outdoor exercise regularly.

Sir William Gull has been furnished with a weekly account by the Medical Officer of H.M.S. *Britannia*. Both Princes often think and talk of home, and will look forward with much pleasure to the Christmas holidays. There is no fear of their home affections being in any way weakened by a residence here, rather they will be naturally increased and intensified. Mr. Dalton humbly ventures to hope that the Queen will be as satisfied as the Prince and Princess of Wales with the present state of circumstances.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

HIGH WYCOMBE, 11*th Dec.* 1877 (11.43 a.m.).—With duty.

In consequence of the news of this morning[1] he has called the Cabinet together for Friday. He will write to your Majesty to-night by messenger.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th Dec.* 1877.—The Queen writes these few lines, which she hopes Lord Beaconsfield will get before leaving for London, but Hughenden is a very difficult place to communicate with.

[1] The fall of Plevna on 10th December.

She wishes to repeat *most* emphatically that she hopes Lord Beaconsfield will be *very* firm and decided to-morrow, and not give way to any one, even if Lord Derby should wish to resign. If he *does*, the Queen would be ready to write to Lord Lyons, to insist on his occupying the post of Foreign Secretary. *No* time is to be lost in deciding *what* is to be done, and if Lord Beaconsfield will be very decided, supported as he will be, and has been, *all along* by herself, the other Ministers will surely yield.

Make what use of the Queen's name Lord Beaconsfield wishes.

The Queen *knows* that the greater part of the country is strongly anti-Russian, even if it does not entirely sympathise with Turkey; and now that Plevna is taken, people are getting alarmed and will feel, as the people of this country *always do* feel, for the poor country which is getting the worst of the conflict, and for the heroic army who are defending their home and hearth. England will *never* stand (not to speak of her Sovereign) to become *subservient* to Russia, for she would then *fall down* from her high position and become a *second-rate Power*!!

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 14*th Dec.* 1877 (3.50 p.m.).—Cabinet two hours. C[arnarvon], S[alisbury], and D[erby] against, but the two first will, I think, assent. Decide on Monday. Chancellor of Exchequer, Secretary for War, and Lord Chancellor excellent, and all the rest on the whole much pleased.[1] . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15*th Dec.* 1877.—. . . At half past twelve left with Beatrice (who was better), Janie E., General Ponsonby, and Colonel du Plat for Hughenden, going by train to High Wycombe, which we reached in about three-quarters of an hour, and where Lord Beaconsfield with the Mayor received us on the platform. There was a great crowd. An Address was handed by the Mayor, in answer to which Lord Beaconsfield said a few words, and the daughter gave me a bouquet. I drove in an open landau with four horses, with Beatrice and Janie E., the two gentlemen riding, and Lord B. and Mr. Corry preceding us. The country town was beautifully decorated with flags and festoons and there were several arches with kind inscriptions. We drove down the fine broad High Street. Very large crowds and the people most loyal and orderly. One of the arches was very curious, entirely composed of chairs, which is the staple industry of the town.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

It took us hardly quarter of an hour to reach Hughenden, which stands in a park, rather high, and has a fine view. Lord Beaconsfield met me at the door, and led me into the library, which opens on to the terrace and a pretty Italian garden, laid out by himself. We went out at once, and Beatrice and I planted each a tree, then I went back into the library and he gave me an account of yesterday's Cabinet, which had been very stormy. Lord Beaconsfield is determined to bring things to an issue on the 17th, in which I strongly encouraged him.

After my conversation, went in to luncheon, which consisted of Beatrice, myself, Janie E., and Lord B. He showed us several interesting pictures, portraits of friends, and has a very fine head of Lord Byron, whom he knew. He also showed us portraits of his parents. At 3.30 we left as we came, and took leave of Lord Beaconsfield at the station, where I also saw and spoke to Lord Carrington, the Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Bucks.

18*th Dec.*—Heard from Lord Beaconsfield that after adjournment of Cabinet, he had announced that he would place his resignation in my hands (which he must know I would not accept); he thinks three Peers will retire, though the Lord Chancellor was going to Hatfield to speak to Lord Salisbury. Rather anxious at word "resignation," and asked for explanation. The answer was reassuring, stating "that he could not do otherwise when he found the greater part of his Cabinet against him, but he would reconstruct one at any time, at my desire."

Had a cypher from Lord Beaconsfield that "all was satisfactorily settled." The refractory Lords had "surrendered." Saw Lord Beaconsfield after tea, who was much pleased with his success. He described what had occurred at yesterday's Cabinet.[1] I told him that I would not have accepted his resignation and he would have been ready to re-form the Government.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] BERLIN, 19*th December* 1877.

MY MOST BELOVED MAMA,— . . . As regards politics, *what can* one say! Oh! if I could only see *you* for one half-hour to say what fills my heart and soul! *If* England does *not* assert herself *powerfully*, she will do herself a harm which perhaps people living in happy England *hardly* can realise! Ridicule and contempt England can very well stand, and laugh at the ignorance of the benighted people that know no better; but England *cannot*, or rather OUGHT *not* to, afford to lose her position in Europe.

The feeling is so strong now abroad, that England is quite powerless, has no army, a fleet that is of no use, because the time of naval battles is past, has no statesmen, and cares for nothing any more than making money, because she is *too* weak to have a will, and if she *had* one, has *no* power of enforcing it! *How* I do long for *one* good roar of the British Lion from the housetops, and for the *thunder* of a British broadside!

God knows I have seen *enough* of war, to know

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[1] For full details of these important Cabinet meetings, see *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 6.

how horrible, how wicked, how shocking it is, and how *worse* than *sinful* those who *bring it on* without a reason, and plunge thousands into misery and despair! But are not *dignity*, *honour*, and one's *reputation* things for which a nation, like an individual, must be ready to sacrifice *ease*, *wealth*, and even blood and life itself!

My experience of politics and things in general on the Continent, and a careful observation of them, has led me to the *firm* conviction that *England* is *far* in advance of *all* other countries in the scale of civilisation and progress, the *only* one that understands Liberty and *possesses* Liberty; the *only one* that understands *true progress*, that can civilise and colonise far-distant lands, that can develop commerce and consequently prosperity, the *only* really happy, the *only* really free, and, above all, the *only* REALLY *humane* country; that will give *so* readily, *so* generously, and *so* wisely to alleviate suffering, be it *ever* so far off from sight! *Surely then* for the good of us *all*, for the *good* of the *world*, and *not* only of Europe, England should *assert herself*, *make* herself be listened to! . . .

Now for Russia and Turkey to make a separate peace, without England's being even consulted, I should think a downright insult, and a fatal blow to English interests! If England suffer in her prestige, *vis-à-vis* of Europe, *what* does she in the eyes of Oriental nations!! and what will the 80 millions of fighting *men*, England's subjects in India, think, if the Mother country stirs not a finger now!!

There is a school in England that think that she should not pretend to be a great Power, but subside into one of a *second* order, and interfere no more in wars, etc., etc. This may be true, but then England ought *not* to *possess half* the world, as she does now! and *woe* to the world when England abdicates the *leadership* and the pre-eminence, as the champion of LIBERTY and progress! England can surely have troops enough from India that can fight better than the Turks even, and are a match for any number of Russians!

If RUSSIA be allowed, she will become the *bane* of the world! She must have *some* one Power to keep her in check; she does *not* represent Liberty, progress, enlightenment, humaneness, and civilisation, but if she get *too* strong, and a man like the old Napoleon ever be born there, she will indeed be a terrific danger. That is the only Power to *fear*, NOT poor Germany that *can never*, or *ought* never, to grow out of her own confines. . . .

Prince Bismarck has become a *myth*; he is neither seen nor heard of. . . .

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] *23rd December* 1877.

DEAREST MAMA,— . . . We keep always offering advice which is rarely followed, and turned into ridicule into the bargain. Then again if we make use of big words such as "British interests" at the present moment, unless we are ready to enforce them by force, we shall never be able to hold our head up again in the eyes of the world.

This is our last chance now. Forgive my writing thus plainly, but I could not resist the opportunity. . . . BERTIE.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th Dec.* 1877.—The Queen has to thank Lord Granville for a beautiful bouquet, which she received on Christmas Eve, as well as for his good wishes, which she reciprocates.

The Queen sends Lord Granville with these lines, the third volume of the dear Prince's *Life*, describing a *time*, when the *then* Government, of which Lord Granville was a Member, stood up *manfully* and *loyally* for the honour and interests of this country, and resisted the *aggression*, *ambition*, and *duplicity* of Russia, of which Lord Granville has had more experience than anyone almost. May the perusal of this volume open the eyes of *many* to a *similar* state of things, and *remind* them of *their duty* to their Sovereign and country!

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, DEAL, 27*th Dec.* 1877.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He had some doubt whether he might venture to trouble your Majesty with his annual little tribute of respect, and he is deeply touched by the gracious manner with which your Majesty has been good enough to receive it.

He stated last year how past and present circumstances made him place an especial value on the gift of your Majesty to him of successive volumes of the *Life* of the Prince Consort. He has been reading with the deepest interest this work, which has been compiled with an ability worthy of its remarkable subject.

Lord Granville doubts whether it would be to the honour or interest of your Majesty, excepting under a paramount necessity, to go to war without allies against a powerful military nation, backed up as Russia now is. It was obviously the strong wish of Prince Bismarck last year, first to get Russia into this war, and secondly, that your Majesty should be forced into the same.

Lord Granville respectfully agrees with your Majesty, as to the impossibility of placing confidence in Russian assurances. His experience, as your Majesty justly observes, is fatal to such reliance. He has never said anything, in public, inconsistent with this opinion.

Lord Granville begs to repeat his warm thanks to your Majesty for your great kindness.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27*th Dec.* 1877. . . . The meeting was, on the whole, very satisfactory.

The Cabinet accepted the mediation, and agreed that it should be offered to Russia simply and briefly, without any allusion to or recapitulation of previous proposals of the Czar.

They agreed also, that their intention should be at once published, and made known directly that they were assured the telegraphic despatch had reached St. Petersburg. . . .

29*th Dec.*— . . . The authorised paragraph in all the papers of this morning has produced a great effect. Lord Beaconsfield is entirely content with the expression of public feeling, which reaches him from all quarters, that this step, on the part of the English Government, must lead to grave results.

This is the second measure proposed originally in the Cabinet, and which they discountenanced. The first was the accelerated meeting of Parliament. The second is expressed in the paragraph of to-day, and the third will be the Vote of Credit, which will permit your Majesty to send an army of occupation to Turkey.

Lord Beaconsfield adopts your Majesty's motto, "BE FIRM."

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 31*st Dec.* 1877.—May God bless all my dear ones! Many fervent and humble thanks do I offer up to Him, for His merciful help through this most trying year. I never like parting with a year, one never knows what the next may bring! Sat up till late writing. Prayed for God's mercy and protection.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XVII

The unity apparently secured in the Ministry in December 1877 proved to be very imperfect in January 1878, and most of the month was occupied with constant and divided Cabinets. Russia was drawing near Constantinople, and the question of the terms, first of Armistice, and then of peace, in which England was deeply interested, was in sight. The Queen, Lord Beaconsfield and the large majority of Ministers, to whom Lord Salisbury had now rallied, pressed for action. When Parliament met on the 17th matters were still in abeyance, and no decisive measure was announced. At last, at a Cabinet held on the 23rd, the Fleet was ordered to Constantinople, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was instructed to give notice in the House of Commons of a Vote of Credit; whereupon Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon resigned, the latter for the second time within the month. A serious mistake in a telegram from Constantinople about the proposed terms of peace caused Ministers to countermand the orders to the Fleet; accordingly, Lord Derby, at his colleagues' request, returned to office. The terms, as notified by Russia, proved to be so elastic, and the reports of the Russian menace to Constantinople were so serious, that the Opposition to the Vote of Credit for £6,000,000 collapsed. A strong public opinion, notably in London and the south of England, had now risen in support of an active policy; and Ministers proceeded with defensive preparations, sending the Fleet to Constantinople, and naming Lord Napier of Magdala to command (with Sir Garnet Wolseley as Chief of the Staff) any military expedition that might be found necessary. They determined also (Lord Derby protesting) to look out for a place of arms in the Mediterranean more easterly than Malta. On 3rd March Russia forced Turkey to sign a definite Treaty at San Stefano, binding her to silence as to its terms. Austria had already suggested a Conference, which the British Government welcomed, but on condition that the whole treaty should be submitted to the assembled Powers. When

Russia, towards the end of March, declined in set terms to accept this condition, and when it was found that the Treaty of San Stefano created a Big Bulgaria having ports on the Ægean and practically reduced Turkey to a state of subjugation to Russia, Lord Beaconsfield determined to take further forward steps, and in a Cabinet on 27th March prevailed on his colleagues to call out the Reserve, and to make secret arrangements for an expedition of troops from India, with a view to securing a place of arms in the Levant. Lord Derby at once resigned.

The post of Foreign Secretary was promptly filled by Lord Salisbury, who, since Lord Derby's abortive resignation in January, had been Lord Beaconsfield's right hand in foreign policy. In a masterly circular, issued when he had been at the Foreign Office only three days, he demanded that the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to the judgment of Europe, explaining why Europe could not possibly accept it unaltered, but at the same time acknowledging that after recent events large changes would be requisite in the treaties regulating South-Eastern Europe. This was followed by the announcement that 7,000 native Indian troops were under immediate orders for Malta, where they arrived before the end of May. These steps convinced the world that Great Britain was in earnest; especially as, in spite of strong Opposition protest, the Lords accepted the policy of bringing Indian troops to the Mediterranean without a division, and the Commons by a majority of 121. Prince Bismarck suggested that England and Russia should get together. This was done. In the Schouvaloff Memorandum, signed on 31st May, Russia consented to divide the Big Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty into two provinces separated by the line of the Balkans, the northern having political autonomy under a prince appointed by the Powers, the southern administrative self-government and a Christian Governor under the Sultan. But as the Emperor Alexander would not consent to surrender his conquests in Armenia, which placed Russia at the head of the routes to Egypt and the Persian Gulf, Lord Salisbury arranged a convention with the Sultan, signed on 4th June, by which England bound herself to defend the remaining Asiatic dominions of the Porte, being allowed to occupy Cyprus as a base; the Sultan, for his part, promising to concert with England necessary reforms for the protection of Christians in Asiatic Turkey. Lastly, Lord Salisbury made a convention with Austria, obtaining her support for British views about Bulgaria, in return for allowing her to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. Agreement being thus reached on the main points, and Russia consenting to lay the whole Treaty before the Powers, a Congress was held at Berlin from 13th June to 13th July, with Prince Bismarck in the Chair, which elaborated the Berlin Treaty in accordance with these preliminary arrangements, except those about Cyprus which were outside its purview. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, the British Plenipotentiaries, were warmly welcomed on their return to London bringing "peace with honour"; the Queen gave them both the Garter, and the City of London its freedom. There were some vehement interchanges of contemptuous language between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Beaconsfield, especially with regard to the Cyprus convention, of which the Opposition expressed violent disapproval; but Parliament endorsed the Treaty, the Lords without a division, the Commons by the great majority of 143. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Governor of Cyprus.

The tension between Russia and England in the last couple of years produced serious results this autumn in India. Russia's steady advance through Turkestan had brought her troops to the borders of Afghanistan, and in July a Russian mission appeared in Cabul, was received with honour by Sher Ali, the Ameer, and signed a convention with him. As the Ameer had hitherto either evaded or declined to receive a British mission, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, decided that the only suitable course for the Indian Government was to despatch such a mission at once and insist upon its reception. When the Ameer by a threat of force stopped the mission, over which Sir Neville Chamberlain presided, an ultimatum was sent, which the Ameer disregarded, and war began. In all these steps, the Home Government was reluctantly carried forward by the Viceroy, and public opinion at home was largely hostile to the forward movement. But the operations were uniformly successful, General Roberts, in particular, brilliantly defeating the Afghan troops at Peiwar Kotál; and Parliament, summoned in December, steadily supported this policy, the Lords by 201 to 65, the Commons by 328 to 227. A forward movement against the Zulus in South Africa, also discouraged by the Home Government, was in progress as the year drew to a close ; and on 14th December Sir Bartle Frere despatched an ultimatum, which he felt sure that Cetewayo, the Zulu King, would not accept.

A complete change in the outstanding figures in Italy occurred this year. Victor Emmanuel, the first King of United Italy, died on 9th January, and was succeeded by his son Humbert, Prince of Piedmont. Next month, on 7th February, died Pius IX, who had worn the Papal tiara for the unprecedented period of thirty-two years, and who was the last Pope with temporal as well as spiritual dominion. Cardinal Pecci, a man of learning and high character, was elected his successor, and took the name of Leo XIII.

During the year there was an epidemic of attempted assassination of monarchs. The venerable German Emperor was twice shot at by Socialists in Berlin ; on the second occasion he was seriously injured by a Dr. Nobiling, and had to constitute the Crown Prince Regent for a considerable period. The young Kings of Italy and Spain, who were attacked by disciples of the International, fortunately escaped more easily, the one with a slight wound, the other uninjured. For King Alphonso it was a tragic year. In January, he, only twenty, contracted a happy marriage with his cousin the Infanta Mercedes, and in June he lost her, of gastric fever, two days after her eighteenth birthday.

The attempts on the German Emperor confirmed Prince Bismarck in prosecuting a strong anti-Socialist campaign. He procured a dissolution of the Reichstag and carried in the new Reichstag, which was of a predominantly Conservative character, a sweeping measure "to suppress the agitation of social democracy." As the year declined, negotiations were in progress between Prince Bismarck and the Pope for a compromise on the Church and State struggle. In France there was a steady drift throughout the year to Republicanism and anti-Clericalism. Paris marked its recovery from the war by a successful universal exhibition.

The Queen had the great sorrow of losing her second daughter, Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, of diphtheria, on 14th December, the anniversary of the day on which the Prince Consort died.

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CHAPTER XVII

1878

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1*st Jan.* 1878.—May this year bring us peace, and may I be able to maintain strongly and stoutly the honour and dignity of my dear country! and Russia's wicked aggression, ambition, and duplicity be checked! May all most dear to me be preserved and blessed, and may I keep those dearest to me ever near me! God help me on in my arduous task!

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 4*th Jan.* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter by F.O. messenger.

He has heard nothing yet of his disloyal colleague, if indeed he be yet a colleague. Lord Beaconsfield will at once accept his resignation, if offered. Lord Carnarvon lives in his castle in the country, surrounded by a circle of literary parasites, chiefly contributors to the Liberal Press, and unceasingly incensed by Lyddon (*sic*) and Froude. Without consulting a single colleague he delivers himself of all the fine phrases of Highclere,[1] whereas, had he remained in London, like myself, and seen men and things, his speech might have been duller, but it would have been wiser.

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[1] Replying to a deputation of South African merchants at Highclere on 2nd January, Lord Carnarvon expressed his total dissent from the idea that Russia's rejection of British peace overtures conveyed "any affront or insult" to England. He hoped we should not "lash ourselves up into a nervous apprehension for so-called British honour and British interests." Nobody, he added, in this country was "insane enough to desire a repetition" of the Crimean War.

Lord Rosebery has wooed, and won, the heiress of Mentmore, and her castle and millions.[1] Lord Beaconsfield encloses the means by which he became acquainted with this great social fact, which he thought might, for a moment, amuse your Majesty. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *4th Jan.* 1878.—The Queen has asked General Ponsonby to telegraph to Lord Carnarvon for the Crown Princess's letter which she sent for him to read, and which she is very anxious to have back.

With reference to the conversation which the Queen had with Lord Carnarvon, and which it was painful for her to have in more ways than one, she must observe that she had not then read his speech or she would have alluded to it.

The Queen cannot therefore refrain from *now* expressing her deep concern, that Lord Carnarvon should have allowed his personal feelings (which she is bound to say SHE *cannot* understand) to find vent in a speech to a Commercial Deputation; the effect of which will be immensely exaggerated abroad, will tend to make all our most earnest and anxious efforts to put a stop to the war, and to show to the world that Great Britain is still what she was, to be *disbelieved*, and to shake the public confidence here and abroad in our sincerity.

It is (the Queen must speak *strongly*) lamentable! The Queen cannot doubt Lord Carnarvon's wish to serve his country (for he has so ably done so as Secretary of State for the Colonies) but he *must* see the *extreme* imprudence and danger of holding language, of the kind he held the other day, in public.

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[1] Lord Rosebery married Miss Hannah de Rothschild on 20th March 1878. Lady Rosebery died in 1890.

Responsible Ministers should *not* speak on such vital questions unless they are certain to be in harmony with the views and policy of the Prime Minister and Cabinet *in general.*

In conclusion the Queen must say that nothing can give her more pain than to see people, who like Lord Carnarvon have possessed her esteem and respect, and for whom she has a *sincere regard*, take a view of foreign affairs, or rather more of Eastern affairs, and a line of policy, which *she must consider* as *most* detrimental to the position of her great Empire; and not only to its best interests but to those of the world in general, and calculated to prevent peace by encouraging Russia, our worst enemy, in her policy of ambitious aggression and duplicity.

The Earl of Carnarvon to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *5th Jan.* 1878.—Lord Carnarvon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has received with very deep regret your Majesty's letter of this morning. Your Majesty's unvarying goodness, and the recollection of numberless acts of consideration for him and his, make it more than painful to Lord Carnarvon to think that there is any difference, on a question so grave as that of the present war, between the opinion which your Majesty holds, and that of Lord Carnarvon, still more that any speech or act of his should be thought by your Majesty to be detrimental to the position of your great Empire. Lord Carnarvon indulges the hope, that the difference, which he is aware unfortunately exists in some points, is as regards essentials far less than your Majesty appears to think: and anyhow he ventures to assure your Majesty both of his readiness at all times—so far as it may depend upon him—to uphold the dignity and credit of the country, and of his unalterable devotion to your Majesty's person and service.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *6th Jan.* 1878.—With humblest duty.

He is much touched, and deeply gratified, by your Majesty's deigning to express a wish to possess some photographs of Hughenden.

Unhappily, there are none, at present, in existence, but when the sun shines again, the most skilful artist in that style shall make a series of drawings, from which he will select a few of the most felicitous, and presume to offer them to your Majesty.

General Ponsonby to Viscount Halifax.

[*Draft.*]

Osborne, *5th January* 1878.

Dear Lord Halifax,—You can well understand that in the present crisis the Queen, whose whole desire is to uphold the honour and welfare of the country, is deeply pained by any expressions which may weaken her Government in their policy of maintaining the high position which our nation holds in the world.

Her Majesty's earnest desire is to secure peace, but in order to effect this her Government must be empowered to speak with force, and she is convinced that, supported by an undivided people, they will secure a lasting settlement of the Eastern question which will be advantageous to England, and as satisfactory as in any circumstances can be expected to the Belligerents and other Powers of Europe.

So long, however, as the Government are assailed by party tactics and find themselves foiled, in their earnest endeavours to restore harmony, by the declarations of powerful opponents, their efforts are vain, and England presents the spectacle of indecision and weakness which lowers her in the esteem of all the world.

Would it be possible for you in any way to put this clearly before those who take the lead on this question, and who with the best intentions do not sufficiently consider the course they are pursuing, which in their mistaken zeal may lead to the most lamentable consequences?

Note by Queen Victoria:

Nothing *can be better* than this letter. You could just add that *he* should not convey it as an actual message to others—but as the result of what he knows to be the Queen's strong and earnest feeling.

Viscount Halifax to General Ponsonby.

HICKLETON, 9*th January* 1878.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—I have received your letter with the expression of the Queen's earnest feeling on the present state of Europe, and I fully understand that the purpose of your letter goes no farther.

I hope that I may be permitted to express my grateful thanks to her Majesty, for the honour of her Majesty's feelings being thus communicated to me.

I trust that, whilst nobody can fail to do justice to the anxiety which, on this as on every other occasion during her reign, her Majesty has always shown for the honour and welfare of her people, her Majesty will believe that those who have heretofore had the honour of being her Majesty's Servants, though now opposed to the Government, will not be forgetful of what is their duty to her Majesty and to their country.

I confess that I do not quite understand what you refer to, when you speak of the "Government having been assailed by party tactics, and finding themselves foiled in their earnest endeavours to restore harmony by the declarations of powerful opponents." So far as I am aware, no line of conduct has been advocated by the leaders of Opposition, either in or out [of] Parliament, which is not in accordance with the policy avowed and acted on by her Majesty's Government, since the time of their refusal to consider the Berlin Note.

They have been opposed to any material assistance being given to Turkey, which is only what Lord Derby announced to the Porte. They have advocated strict neutrality between the belligerents. This is the course which, towards the close of last Session, Mr. Cross on behalf of his colleagues declared to be their policy; and since Parliament has been summoned the same view has, within the last few days, been repeated by Lord Carnarvon.

We have no reason to anticipate any such change of policy as would lead to a different state of things, and it is impossible to form an opinion upon any future policy of the Government, till we know what it is to be.

I trust, however, that her Majesty may be assured that under all circumstances the leaders of Opposition will not be diverted from doing that which they believe to be for the honour and true interest of England, by any party views or party purposes.

I need not assure you how anxious I am to carry out any wishes of her Majesty in communicating with others; and her Majesty may rely on my doing so, as far as I can do so with due discretion. Yours ever, HALIFAX.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9*th Jan.* 1878.—A very bad account of the poor King [of Italy], his state critical. To-day is the anniversary of the Emperor Napoleon's death. Sang a little with Miss Ferrari, and whilst I was singing received the news of the poor King of Italy's death which took place at 2 o'clock to-day—so shocked! and on this anniversary too! both my faithful Allies in the Crimean War! He was a strange, wild man, and to a certain extent lawless in his passions (for women especially), but a brave, gallant soldier with a warm heart, honest, and great energy and power. What is *most* admired in him I like *least*, viz. his having effected the unity of Italy, for it was done with much treachery, especially towards his good uncle the Grand Duke of Tuscany. To me the King was always very kind, and only two years ago wrote and telegraphed to me, and sent me those horses.[1] I hear he was really much attached to me. I had always hoped to see him once again. Telegraphed my condolence to the Prince of Piedmont,[2] and expressed my sincere regret.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

THE PALACE, HAMILTON,
13th January 1878.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—Many thanks for your long and interesting letter which I received last night. . . .

I own that the tone in my last letter, with regard to the sad state of affairs in the East, was somewhat sarcastic and bitter; and I really could not help it, as it is impossible not to see that we are drifting towards complete isolation, and ultimately, I fear, powerless to stem the Russian tide, which is now pouring in with such excessive violence against the unfortunate Turks.

I know what your views are, and how you have done *all* in your power to direct the Government in its proper path, and that also Lord Beaconsfield is quite alive to the gravity of the situation; but what I deplore is the conduct of those three Secretaries of State (one in particular) who paralyse the action of their Chief.

I fear Adrianople must fall immediately, and, from one of the last telegrams from Constantinople, that town may soon have to capitulate, as it cannot be defended! This is certainly a catastrophe one did not anticipate. Russia will of course not allow us to mediate for Turkey, as the latter sees (in consequence of Lord Derby's instructions to Mr. Layard) that even at the last we will not lend a helping hand if only for our own selfish interest (which after al is paramount with every country) ; she will naturally have to make the best terms she can with her civilising (?) destroyer, and we shall be left out in the cold, powerless to prevent it, and I fear without an ally to fall back upon to help us.

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[1] See above, pp. 416, 417.

[2] Who ascended the throne as King Humbert.

God grant that I have blackened the picture too much, but I very much fear that I have not.

If you will allow me to say so, I think your letter to Lord Carnarvon *quite* admirable—so much so that he cannot answer it, excepting making use of a few platitudes. His unfortunate speech will be a useful handle in the hands of the Opposition when Parliament meets, and the Government must expect no quarter from them! I thought Mr. Borthwick's[1] action last week very good, and the Duke of Sutherland's speech a straightforward and true one—like his own character. Not a word too much, nor a word too little. His brothers-in-law[2] will, I suppose, never forgive him.

I feel so much, dearest Mama, for your worry and anxiety. God only knows how it will all end. . .

With my love to Arthur and Beatrice, I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, BERTIE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 14*th Jan.* 1878.—After dinner we went to the Council Room and saw the telephone. A Professor Bell explained the whole process, which is most extraordinary. It had been put in communication with Osborne Cottage, and we talked with Sir Thomas and Mary Biddulph, also heard some singing quite plainly. But it is rather faint, and one must hold the tube close to one's ear.

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[1] Afterwards Sir Algernon Borthwick, and eventually Lord Glenesk proprietor and editor of the *Morning Post*.

[2] The Dukes of Argyll and Westminster, who had married the Duk of Sutherland's sisters, took a prominent part in the Bulgarian atrocit agitation.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 16*th Jan.* 1878.—The Queen was much in hopes to get a letter from Lord Beaconsfield in answer to her *long* earnest letter of the 14th, but got none.

She is well aware *what* a press of business, and what an amount of weight and anxiety must overwhelm him. But the moment is so fearfully important, the danger to our position (which the Queen hears from *all* sides abroad is so terribly damaged already) is so imminent, she must *now* really *insist* on a *firm*, *very firm*, tone being held.

Colonel Wellesley will have told Lord Beaconsfield that the Russians are in a *wretched* plight, and really a most despicable military Power, and that to attempt to flatter and butter them is the *very worst* way to deal with them. Strong, determined language *must* be held to them.

The Queen feels much affronted by the answer received from the Emperor,[1] and thinks the Government, who urged and pressed her to send it, should stand up for her dignity and position.

If we *now* hang back, and merely send notes and telegrams, and don't *say* "If you won't promise not to go further, and won't at once agree to an armistice, we will occupy Gallipoli," we shall become the laughing-stock of Europe and the world!! There has been great duplicity in the answers and conduct of Russia about the armistice, and this must be shown up. We have done everything we can for mediation, but the wretched divisions in the Cabinet have paralysed our action.

This is the *last* moment. Be firm, take a strong line, and let it appear that it is *not* a *party question*, but the honour and dignity of Great Britain and her great Empire which has to be defended and upheld!

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[1] In answer to a telegram from the Queen, expressing the hope that the Emperor Alexander, as one sincerely desirous of peace, would hasten the negotiations, he replied that he wished the peace to be serious and lasting, and that his Commanders-in-Chief knew the conditions on which hostilities could be suspended.

Pray, for God's sake, hold this language tomorrow,[1] and you will rally all *true*, *loyal* Englishmen round you.

But don't attempt half measures to keep those in the Cabinet who have dragged us down, for you will *not* conciliate this opposition.

Sir H. Elliot was saying—when he took leave of the Queen yesterday to go as her Representative to Vienna, where England *stands* lower than she ever did—non-intervention is a policy which cannot be carried out *unless* all *nations* agree to give up all wars and interference.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 19*th Jan.* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has the whole of this day been considering and enquiring whether, in the present critical and urgent state of affairs, an Identic Note should not be addressed to Russia by England and Austria, of a character which should arrest the proceedings of the invading Power: and that would really amount, if not in form, at least in substance, to the declaration of *casus belli.*

Austria is thoroughly alarmed, and appears really to have been duped. Nothing but a secret treaty, or formulated understanding with Russia, could have authorised her conduct throughout these transactions, and she appears now to have nothing of the kind.[2]

She might have prevented the war, she might have controlled the war, she may, even now, arrest the final catastrophe; but Lord Beaconsfield has no confidence she will act with requisite determination, though he has just seen Count Beust, and impressed upon him that it was an affair of eight and forty hours. And Count Beust agreed with him, and has, for some time, done so.

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[1] When Parliament opened.

[2] But see above, p. 510.

Nor is Lord Beaconsfield at all more confident that when, on Monday, he places the issue before his own colleagues, they will be at all united.

He foresees disruption of the Cabinet, inevitable war with Russia, though not without allies, and many other trials; but as long as your Majesty wishes it, he will struggle at his post.

Count Schouvaloff talks of giving to us the conditions of peace on Monday, but not for certain. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 20*th Jan.* 1878.—The Queen has received Lord Beaconsfield's letter of yesterday, which has much distressed her, as he *seems* so *much out of heart.* But he must *not be that*, and he must *not* give *way* an *inch. All* that has been foreseen for months is taking place; and we *shall* be for *ever* disgraced if we *submit* to the seizure of *Gallipoli*, or the attack on Constantinople! *It simply* must not be, and after *what* has been said in Parliament we should never *be believed* any more, if we did not at once act. The Queen will not repeat again *what* she wrote *last* night. The case seems so *urgent*, could we *not agree* to *assist* Austria, *where* we *can* (which would not be much), if she *will mobilise* her army? *Anything* is worth trying, and the *Vote*[1] *ought* to be taken *at once.* War with Russia is, the Queen believes, inevitable now or later. Let Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon go, and *be very firm.* A divided Cabinet is of NO *use.*

The Queen would wish to confer the *vacant Garter* on Lord Beaconsfield, as a mark of her confidence and support.[2] *She* and the *country at large*, have the greatest confidence in him.

Could not Lord Derby retire on the score of health, which the Queen knows to be bad? The Queen is ready to write to Lord Salisbury, and any others Lord Beaconsfield should wish. Lord Beaconsfield might hold the Seals of the Foreign Office himself for a time, or also could give them to the Duke of Richmond *if he* thinks we *can't secure* Lord Lyons?

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[1] Of credit.

[2] Lord Beaconsfield declined the honour. His letter appears in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 6. On the 23rd January was held the decisive Cabinet (see Introductory Note) which caused the resignation of Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon.

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 26*th Jan.* 1878.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen.

Though he has nothing very particular to report, he thinks that your Majesty may like to hear his general impression of the tone and temper of the House of Commons There is no doubt that it is such as to cause some anxiety. So far as he can judge, Sir Stafford thinks that a great many of the moderate Liberals as well as of the moderate Conservatives are desirous of supporting the Government in any policy which may secure the honour of the country without leading us into war; but that they shrink from what they would consider a warlike attitude. The policy of the Government, as has been repeatedly explained, and as Sir Stafford will endeavour to make clear on Monday, is not a warlike one, but is adopted as that best calculated to prevent a combination of circumstances which might render war inevitable. This seems clear enough, if the Government are only credited with honesty and intelligence of purpose. But it is very easy to put the opposite construction on what they propose, and every effort to do so will of course be made by Mr. Gladstone and his friends. Their misconstructions, however, would do little harm by themselves. Their conduct has been sufficiently appreciated by the House at large, and would not greatly affect the decision which has to be arrived at.

Lord Carnarvon's secession and speech[1] have of course done some harm, but have by no means produced the effect which he probably expected. The impression made by his speech was that he retired on personal grounds and on account of personal ill-feeling against the Prime Minister. He had resigned on a former occasion, and then, as now, at a critical and most inconvenient moment, and with very little regard to the effect which his conduct would have. Moreover, it is recollected that he leaves the Colonies in a serious difficulty, brought about by his own policy, in which he had been loyally supported by his colleagues and particularly by the Prime Minister; and this, to say the least of it, does not seem over-generous. He has no great influence in the House of Commons, in which he never sat; and his defection is far more than out-weighed by the loyal firmness of Lord Salisbury. It is said that, if there had been good grounds for Lord Carnarvon's going, Lord Salisbury would have gone too.

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[1] In the House of Lords, announcing and explaining his resignation.

But the doubt as to Lord Derby's position is the real cause for anxiety. His resignation would shake our Lancashire Members to the centre, and would greatly discourage the moderate men on both sides, while it would proportionately encourage Mr. Gladstone's phalanx. Sir Stafford uses the word "would" because he really has not the courage to use the word "will," though he is aware that the step has already been taken, and he does not know that there is any possibility of reconsideration.[1]

It is of course beyond his province to say anything upon such a topic; but, feeling deeply the responsibility of his position as leader of the House of Commons, and presuming on your Majesty's gracious and unvarying condescension, he has ventured to express his extreme anxiety upon the point. . . .

Sir Stafford trusts that your Majesty will graciously forgive the boldness of this letter.

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[1] As the order to the fleet was recalled, Lord Derby withdrew his resignation. See Introductory Note.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] BERLIN, 30*th January* 1878.

MY BELOVED MAMA,— . . . As to politics I am in horror and despair! The counter order[1] to the fleet has had a *deplorable* effect; and all the *enemies* of England laugh and rub their hands, and are delighted, whereas the *friends* of England are convinced that Russia is telling fresh lies and playing fresh tricks, that the armistice is all humbug, that they are pressing on to Constantinople and *not* telling England the truth about the terms of peace! . . .

The *more* I hear and the *more* time passes, the more I regret the English fleet and British troops not being at Constantinople and Gallipoli and the Dardanelles *long* before this! I feel sure it would have frightened the Russians into their senses, and made them amenable, if not to reason, yet to the demand of fairer terms of Peace; whereas *now* they will please themselves.

I do not like to reproach the peace party in England with want of *patriotism* and with great selfishness—and I am *certain* that they have *not* an idea of the harm they are doing their country abroad. It is not only that they cause British policy to be called weak, vacillating, and bungling, but it gives totally wrong impression of England's power and England's regard for her own dignity and interests!

I hope I am not very wrong in saying all this, but as a devoted and loyal British heart, mine feels bitterly the taunts and sneers, and the tone which people dare to assume about a country so vastly superior to all others in every sense, and which consequently ought to take the lead and *make itself listened to.*

I know you feel all this, and must be troubled and anxious beyond measure.

I am perpetually in a pugilistic frame of mind, as I have to hear and read so much which is hardly bearable, because one cannot have the satisfaction of knocking somebody down, which would be such an intense relief, and so *very* good for those who would be knocked down.

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[1] See Introductory Note.

But I must end here, VICTORIA.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, *6th Feb.* 1878.—Very alarming telegram in cypher, which came round by Bombay: "The telegraph with Europe is cut off, except through Bombay. State of affairs very grave. Russians in force close to the lines of Constantinople and Gallipoli. Protocol of the basis of Peace, not yet received. Armistice does not stop Russian advance. Porte in great alarm." Instantly cyphered, and Government communicated at once to Austria, France, Italy, and Germany, to enquire if they had heard. Great excitement. A second telegram arrived, saying, Turks had retreated and Constantinople had surrendered.

7th Feb.—Received this evening a telegram announcing the Pope's death. Poor old man, he was in his 86th year. It was long expected, and now occurring not a month after the King of Italy's death, is curious. He was a kind old man. Who will be likely to be elected Pope? Pio Nono will have been the last of the old Popes.[1]

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *7th Feb.* 1878.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen.

This has been one of the most extraordinary evenings that Sir Stafford ever recollects in the House of Commons. At the beginning of business Lord Hartington put to him a question as to the truth of the reports respecting the Russian advance on Constantinople. Sir Stafford in reply stated the substance of Mr. Layard's recent telegrams. Upon this Mr. Forster got up and requested permission to withdraw his amendment, intimating, however, that he reserved to himself the right of still opposing the

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[1] See Introductory Note.

Vote of Credit. Mr. Rylands, who was entitled to begin the night's debate, then said that he hoped the Government would agree to postpone the discussion. This Sir Stafford at once refused to do: it would have been most unreasonable. Thereupon a free discussion began on the Opposition side of the House, in which some Members blamed Lord Hartington for withdrawing Mr. Forster's amendment, others declared for the immediate voting of the money, and others were in favour of an adjournment.

In the midst of the confusion the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called out, and a note was handed to him by Lord Beauchamp, who had brought it from Lord Derby, with the Russian Ambassador's account of Prince Gortchakoff's denial of the rumours as to the advance of the Russian Army. Sir Stafford felt himself bound to read this note to the House at once; and its effect naturally was to redouble the confusion. Lord Hartington maintained that this contradiction rendered it still more proper that the debate should be adjourned. Sir Stafford resisted this, and pointed out that the proposal of the Government rested upon grounds wholly independent of the truth or falsehood of this or that particular report. Ultimately the motion for the adjournment was withdrawn, and the amendment of Mr. Forster was also withdrawn. The debate, however, was resumed upon the motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. It was just possible that it might have speedily terminated, and that a vote might have been taken; but, unfortunately, the great bulk of the supporters of the Government went away to dinner, and a division could not safely be taken. . . .

The division has just been taken (1.10 a.m.) and has given a majority of 199 for the Government, the numbers being 295 to 96. The leaders of the Opposition did not vote. . . .

8*th Feb.* —. . . In the beginning of the evening Sir Stafford read to the House the substance of Mr. Layard's telegram containing the terms of the Armistice. He also stated that a portion of the fleet had been ordered up to Constantinople to protect life and property. The statement was very well received. . . . The House went into Committee with only a short preliminary speech from Mr. O'Donnell. Lord Hartington took an early opportunity of speaking, and began by expressing his satisfaction at the course which the Government had taken in sending up the ships. He criticised the Vote of Credit, and asked what it was wanted for, and what policy the Government intended to pursue in the Conference. He said, however, that he should no longer oppose the Vote.

Sir Stafford expressed his satisfaction at this announcement, and gave such answer as he could to the question as to the policy of the Government, saying that we had three objects, 1, to maintain the commercial freedom of the Black Sea, and for that purpose to prevent Russia from obtaining exclusive command of the Straits; 2, to prevent any Power from establishing itself in a position dangerous to our route to India; and 3, to promote a peaceful and durable settlement of the Turkish Provinces. He denied that he was wanting in sympathy for the Christians, but pointed out the complications that must arise in any reconstruction, and the necessity for doing justice to others besides the Slavs. Even the Turks, he ventured to think, should have some justice done them. He said the Vote was required in order to enable the country to take its own line in the Congress, without the necessity of binding itself to any other Power, or of having to hold its tongue through weakness. Mr. Gladstone followed, and endeavoured to plead for the Russians. He hoped we should not object to their using Constantinople for the purpose of embarking their forces there. He hoped we should support their terms of peace with Turkey. He attacked Austria very bitterly.

Immediately after Mr. Gladstone's sitting down some words passed between him and Lord Hartington which seemed to cause much excitement. Lord

Hartington was apparently telling him that he should not vote, on which Mr. Gladstone sprang up, interrupting Mr. Hubbard who was addressing the House, and said that he wished it to be understood that he meant to oppose the Vote. Lord Hartington immediately went out, looking very angry.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 8*th Feb.* 1878.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that the decision[1] taken in Cabinet to-day, while in no sense an act or a menace of hostility, will in his belief do much to satisfy the feeling of those who are complaining of inaction on the part of the Government. He does not fear the Russians remaining in Constantinople, even if they should enter the town. They would have all Europe against them.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, 10*th Feb.* 1878.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Derby's two letters of the 7th and 8th, and is very glad to see that a portion of the fleet, in company with French and Italian vessels, is to go up to-day to Constantinople; but she regrets the explanation to Russia about it. There is, however, an observation in Lord Derby's letter of yesterday which she cannot leave unanswered. He says this step will in his belief " do much to satisfy the feeling of those who are complaining of inaction on the part of the Government." The Queen for one does not feel this satisfaction, and never has felt satisfied at *our inaction*, which has brought about, what the Queen *feels*, and so do many others, a *painful humiliation* for this country, which no action *now* can remedy; for it *ought* to have been taken *long ago*—and we *ought* to have acted up to our repeated declarations with regard to Constantinople.

As Lord Derby is, however, well aware of the Queen's views and very strong feelings, she will not recur to them here, but confine herself to the *absolute necessity* of this country's position being reasserted, her vital interests secured in the Conference, and *defended by force if* necessary. This the Queen *does insist* on; and *does expect* her Government will give her an assurance that we shall not again hear of difficulties, and impossibilities, and neutrality, which made us recede again and again from the standpoints we had taken. We must see our *rights secured*, as well (as far as we can) as those of our former faithful ally, Turkey, whom we have by our forced neutrality cruelly abandoned to a most unscrupulous, aggressive, and cruel foe. We shall yet repent of this. She must say Mr. Layard's account of the sufferings and misery of the poor Turks, in his last letter (of the 30th), makes one's heart bleed, and makes one also blush to think we have allowed this. But we may *yet* redeem the past in the Conference. This last the Queen hopes will be held in no large Capital, and not at any too great distance from here.

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[1] Once more to order the fleet to go up to Constantinople.

The Grand Duchess of Hesse to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] DARMSTADT, 1*st March* 1878.

BELOVED MAMA,—A thousand thanks for your dear letter received yesterday. . . .

Is Lord Derby really going to remain? He it is who shakes the confidence of all the world in England's policy. He is so vacillating and undecided, and must surely remain the same hindrance to the Cabinet he has been hitherto. I so firmly believe England's *firmness now* can yet help to prevent Russia being able to do all she wishes, if the Government is consistent and decided; but I fear none believe it, as long as Lord Derby is Foreign Minister, and the Russians are quite confident of success as long as he remains.—ALICE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2*nd Mar.* 1878.—Dear Arthur arrived and stopped with us, while we were taking tea. Afterwards he remained talking with me little while, and told me that he had taken a grea liking to young Louise of Prussia, Fritz Carl's youngest daughter, who was brought up by an English governess. The latter is now gone to Alice's girls. He said he did not wish to marry yet, and no one had breathed a word about it, but he liked her better and better, and meant, if I had no objection, to ask to see her this summer again. I could not help saying that I dislike the Prussians, and told him he should see others first, but he said it would make no difference. What could I then say, but that of course his happiness was the first thing? He assured me he liked her better than anyone he had seen, but that he would not do anything without my consent, and looked so sad and earnest, yet so dear and gentle, that, having heard nothing but good of the girl, I could not object

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th Mar.* 1878.—. . . The Queen has just cyphered expressing her *deep regret*, which Sir Stafford has already *expressed* to her, at Lord Derby's answer in the House of Lords. This *really* is *too serious*, and he *ought* to go. You *injure* the Government *most seriously* if such things happen . *all confidence* in our conduct and *intentions* is completely shaken by such answers ; *on all sides* the Queen hears it. Besides, *what* do you hear to-day ? What trust and belief can *anyone* put in *Russia's words*, if you see how utterly *unreliable* and *uncertain such* reports as those which everyone seemed to run away with and believe (as though we had had no lessons to the contrary for two years ! !) yesterday are ? . . .

The Queen is greatly alarmed. On Friday she was *quite satisfied* by Lord Beaconsfield's strong, firm, determined tone ; but his cypher of the terms yesterday showing *how* HE believed in them, and the way in which Lord Bradford (who is *not* very stout on the Eastern question) spoke of them, alarmed her *very much.* Remember *vacillation* and *delay* will be *ruinous* to the country, not to speak of the Government. Lord Derby *must* go, for HE is believed abroad to be THE person who *acts* and NO ONE trusts him! What use is there in keeping him, and yesterday's speech, so different to good Sir Stafford's, *shows* the great danger of such discrepancies. It besides makes Sir Stafford's position untenable! . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6*th Mar.* 1878.—After tea, saw Lord Salisbury, whom I found most energetic and ready and anxious for action, lamenting over poor Lord Derby's extraordinary state; he will do nothing and has entirely lost his nerve, is evidently very unwell. Talked of India.

Mr. Layard to Sir Thomas Biddulph.

Private.

BRITISH EMBASSY, CONSTANTINOPLE,
8*th March* 1878.

MY DEAR SIR THOMAS,—The Sultan was good enough to ask me to dine with him two days ago. The only other person present was Said Pasha, the head of his military household—a very worthy man. His Majesty, in the course of conversation, spoke to me of a report that he had received from Musurus Pasha of an audience that he had of the Queen, when presenting an Egyptian Prince. His Majesty referred to some kind and sympathetic words which the Queen had spoken with respect to himself, with much emotion. He said that her Majesty was the only Sovereign who had really felt for him in his great affliction, and that he was deeply grateful to her for the proofs that she had given him of her friendship. He added that her Majesty had always felt an interest in his family, and he spoke of the kindness his Father and Uncle had experienced at her hands. He asked me to convey, by the telegraph, his warmest and most grateful thanks to the Queen for what she had said with reference to him to his Ambassador. I have thought it better not to do so for various reasons.

When you have an opportunity will you inform he Majesty of the Sultan's message ? What passed with his Majesty was strictly private. I have consequently not made any official report on the subject. Believe me, yours very truly, A. H. Layard.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 11*th* *Mar.* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to the Queen. . . .

He had the honour of dining at Marlborough House yesterday, and after dinner, H.R.H. the Prince spoke much to Lord Beaconsfield about public affairs, and Prince Bismarck in particular. There was nothing new in his remarks, nothing which had not been heard before from Prince Bismarck himself. A policy of partition is very simple, and does not require much genius to devise. It is not impossible that, eventually, partition may be inevitable, but it is not for your Majesty to set such an example. Lord Beaconsfield wishes to see the Mediterranean covered with your Majesty's fleets in the meantime.

The move about Greece[1] is producing a good deal of effect, and is greatly disliked by Russia, but not so much as our proposal—he trusts he may say determination—that the Treaty between Turkey and Russia should be referred *literatim* to the Conference. Count Schouvaloff says this can never be. Utterly impossible ! *Nous verrons.*

Lord Beaconsfield is grieved about Prince Leopold, and often anxious and unhappy about the pressure on your Majesty. All he can say, and he can say it from the bottom of his heart, is that he wishes he was your Majesty's Secretary : he would willingly relinquish for it his present exalted post. That is a great honour, but to soothe and assist your Majesty in your Majesty's many troubles and great and inevitable anxieties, and all the constant pressure on your Majesty's heart and brain, would not only be an honour ; it would be happiness, and the greatest !

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[1] The big Bulgaria reaching to the Ægean, on which the Russian peace terms insisted, would embrace a considerable Greek population, and prove a serious bar to Greek claims in the Balkan peninsula and Greece was being encouraged to protest.

He will come down any morning your Majesty will command him.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th Mar.* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield came to see me, and talked over the anxious state of affairs and Lord Derby, who he always thinks will resign, as soon as any *decided* step is taken. When I pressed Lord Beaconsfield to get him to resign, pointing out the harm he did, the former answered, he would tell him beforehand, that decisive steps were contemplated, which he might object to. Lord Beaconsfield spoke of Lord Lyons, his sense and sagacity, of the Conference ; if Russia agrees to what we ask, it will be a sign of great weakness, and if she does not, we shall have to take very decided steps.[1]

30*th Mar.*—Saw Lord Beaconsfield at one, who was better. He said he had passed " two dreadful days," for that, at such moments, when there were great changes, everyone wanted their claims to be considered. After long and careful reflection, and consultation with Sir S. Northcote, he had come to the conclusion that Lord Salisbury would be the best successor to Lord Derby ; that Mr. Hardy should succeed Lord Salisbury at the India Office, and Colonel F. Stanley,[2] who was able, and understood the War Office thoroughly, should become Secretary of State for War. Lord Beaconsfield had had a long consultation with Sir S. Northcote, and they thought Mr. Hardy was tired of the House of Commons and would wish to leave it and be made a Peer,[3] which I assented to.

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[1] Russia refused the British conditions ; and, accordingly, at the Cabinet on 27th March, the calling out of the Reserve and an expedition of Indian troops were decided on ; and Lord Derby finally resigned. See Introductory Note.

[2] Lord Derby's brother, who succeeded to the Earldom in 1893.

[3] Viscount, afterwards Earl of, Cranbrook.

He wished to be made a Viscount, as Lord Cardwell had. Then there were other minor changes, which would strengthen the Government, and he asked that I would let Sir C. Adderley[1] be made a Peer, and Lord Sandon succeed him, as President of the Board of Trade; Lord George Hamilton, who had been Under-Secretary for India, but whose health could not stand the hard work, to be Vice-President for Education, etc., under the Duke of Richmond. Other changes he spoke of. Then of Russia, her dreadful conduct, and I urged him to see Lord A. Loftus.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

DOWNING STREET, 1*st April* 1878 (1.35 p.m.).—He will send down the Circular[2] by messenger as soon as the proof is corrected. But it is of the greatest importance that it should be if possible laid on the table of both Houses, and appear in all the papers to-morrow. Would your Majesty trust the Prime Minister so far to let all this be done, even if your Majesty's sanction has not been received?[3]

The Marquis of Salisbury to General Ponsonby.

[*Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 1*st April* 1878 (3 p.m.).—The Cabinet propose to send the following to Sir H. Elliot, with the Queen's concurrence. Please telegraph if her Majesty approves.

"You should inform Count Andrassy that the efforts of her Majesty's Government will be directed to procure the erection of the territory south of Balkans, now comprised in New Bulgaria, into a separate province under the Porte—the populations being protected by provisions analogous to those proposed at the Conference of Constantinople.

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[1] Lord Norton.

[2] The famous Salisbury Circular. See Introductory Note.

[3] On this there is a note in the Queen's handwriting: "Approved.—V. R."

"They hope that they may have the cordial support of Austria in this policy."[1]

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, *3rd April* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that he has seen the Corps Diplomatique to-day; and that for the most part their observations were unimportant. There were, however, exceptions. . . .

Count Schouvaloff spoke of his own earnest warnings to his Government to avoid any step that might lead to hostile action on the Bosphorus or Dardanelles. Of the Circular he said that, if England intended to negative the treaty as a whole, then the Circular must be regarded as an instrument of war: but that if we only pointed out the object with which certain modifications should be introduced into the treaty, then it was an instrument of peace. Lord Salisbury assured him that the Circular was not an instrument of war, but declined to enter at present into the nature or extent of the modifications which England might desire to make. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

Berlin, *5th April* 1878.

My beloved Mama,—A *thousand* thanks for your dear and kind letter by messenger!

Indeed since Lord Derby's resignation and Lord Salisbury's Circular, one can hold up one's head again, and no longer feels oppressed by the weight of anxiety and misgiving about what may be coming! Now we know that England *has* a policy, and that it is a clear and right one, and this has already changed the aspect of the whole question.

Except amongst the sworn friends of Russia, I think there is universal approval of England's step and England's views, and *everywhere* a feeling of relief that at last England should have come forward and spoken up. In Austria they are delighted, and what the unfortunate Turks and the other principalities must feel, I can well imagine! What a blessing for them all to feel that their fates are *not* to be settled by Russia *alone*, whose treacherous behaviour to them *all* has opened their eyes as to the nature of Russia's aims. Neither England nor Austria *can* be *bent* on war; but they must not shrink from it, if it be forced upon them.

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[1] This telegram also has on it "Approved.—V. R."

I cannot help thinking that the Russians will draw back and give way, and that the whole may yet be satisfactorily settled without a war.

I cannot help congratulating you on the turn affairs have taken. How much easier you must feel now. Poor Lord Derby seems to have been treated with so much kindness and consideration, that one cannot pity him! Oh, how *much* he has to answer for, and how vast is the harm his indecision did! . . .

I wish you could see the articles of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Journal des Débats* just now, as it is interesting to see how *good* and beneficial an effect Lord Salisbury's Circular has had. . . .

Good-bye, dearest Mama, kissing your dear hands, and again thanking you for your letter. I remain ever, your most dutiful and devoted daughter, VICTORIA.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Odo Russell.

[*Telegram.*]

Personal and most Secret.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 6*th April* 1878.—Count Münster in conversation with me has repeatedly dwelt on the danger to peace arising from the neighbourhood of the British fleet and the Russian army near the Marmora. His insistence is, I think, more than accidental and may possibly mean that Prince Bismarck wishes for peace and therefore for the cessation of this dangerous proximity. If so, he can accomplish it. Our fleet is in the Marmora because the Russians are at Constantinople. The Russians would say their army was at Constantinople because our fleet is in the Marmora. Each is deterred from being first to propose a simultaneous retreat by fear that enhanced pretensions would thereby be encouraged on the other side. A friendly suggestion from Prince Bismarck to both that, pending negotiations, the fleet should retire below the Dardanelles, and the army retire the same number of miles from Constantinople, would evade the difficulty. You will be able to judge whether he wishes for peace, and if so, whether he is likely to entertain the above idea. Her Majesty's Government must trust entirely to your judgment and skill, and give to you absolute discretion in dealing with the matter: and if you have any doubts I should like to know your opinion before you act.

Keep this most secret.

Lord Odo Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Telegrams.*]

Personal and Secret.

7th April 1878.—I have privately submitted your lordship's idea as my own, to Prince Bismarck, and told him that if he approved and felt inclined to appropriate it to himself, I would endeavour to make it acceptable to your lordship.

If, on the other hand, he objected to it and would not interfere, I begged he would consider my suggestion as personal and secret, and would forget it.

To this he assented, but said that, before proceeding any farther, he would privately and in his own name sound Prince Gortchakoff.

I thought Prince Bismarck seemed pleased at being asked to assist in promoting peaceful solution.

Personal.

9th April.—I have settled with Prince Bismarck that he is to appropriate idea entirely to himself and take initiative of addressing simultaneously to your lordship and to Prince Gortchakoff, through the German Ambassadors in London and Petersburg, a friendly suggestion that, pending negotiations, the English fleet and the Russian army should take up more distant positions from each other and from Constantinople, i.e. English fleet shall leave Constantinople waters and pass out of Dardanelles, while in exchange the Russian forces shall be withdrawn from Bosphorus to a distance equivalent to the time the English fleet would require to take up her present position again. Prince Bismarck will obtain Emperor of Germany's sanction to the suggestion to-day, and send instructions accordingly to the German Ambassadors in England and Russia to-night.

Prince Bismarck thinks that, if her Majesty's Government will accept and act on his friendly suggestion, he will be in a position to promote conciliation if only your Lordship will trust him and have faith in his sincere desire for peace.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 9*th April* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits a telegraphic correspondence with Lord Odo Russell, of which the completing telegram has just arrived.

It was sent with Lord Beaconsfield's sanction, but it has hitherto been kept a secret, as, if it should come to nothing, it is very desirable it should not be known.

It may open an honourable and effective way of preventing the *coup de main* which your Majesty fears. If the Russian troops are removed from Constantinople, danger both to that city and the positions on the Bosphorus will be removed. At the same time no sacrifice will have been made by this country; for, since Admiral Hornby announced that he could not venture to enter the Black Sea unless the Bosphorus could be kept open for wooden transport ships, the *utility* of the fleet in the Marmora has disappeared. It becomes a mere question of moral effect.

12*th April*.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that the German Ambassador called here this afternoon, and stated that Russia accepted the proposed arrangement in principle: and that Lord Salisbury explained to him the lines to which, if the Russian army retreated, the British fleet would go below the Dardanelles. These, according to the agreement in Cabinet, were to be the railway line from Dedeagatch to Adrianople, and from thence in a straight line to Media on the Black Sea. Count Münster promised to convey the proposal to his Government. Lord Salisbury did not hold out any hopes that he would accept less.

Count Münster then raised the question of the Russian Circular. Lord Salisbury again dwelt on the Asiatic part of the Circular; and said he feared from the language used that this would present the most serious obstacle to an agreement. In the course of a discussion on the nature of the English objection to the Russian annexations, Lord Salisbury referred to his conversation with Prince Bismarck eighteen months ago, and the proposal advanced by the latter that England should find her compensation for the Russian advance, in *Egypt*. Lord Salisbury observed that both the financial difficulties, and the opposition of other Powers, notably of France, would make such a mode of restoring British influence inadmissible. Count Münster treated these difficulties as insufficient, spoke strongly of the richness of the country: and asserted his belief that France really wished only or chiefly for the harbour of Bona in Tunis—the ancient Carthage; but that Italy was much opposed to this. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 13*th April* 1878.—The Marine Band played during dinner, and afterwards the ladies and gentlemen all joined us, and we had a little impromptu dance in the Drawing-room. We had five dances, and I danced a Quadrille, and a valse (which I had not done for eighteen years) with dear Arthur, who valses extremely well, and I found I could do it as well as ever! Arthur dances like his beloved father.

14*th April.*[1]—At eight the Band played under Beatrice's windows, and therefore mine, reminding me of former happy days. And how many prayers and thanks went up to our Heavenly Father for this darling child, whose birth was such a joy to us, and who is my blessing and comfort, whom God will, I know, keep near me and preserve! I could but feel my heart full, in thinking the little Baby [whom] my darling one loved so much, to whom he almost gave his last smile, had grown up to girlhood and to be of age, and *he* [should] never have been there, to guide and protect her!

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 18*th April* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that the German Ambassador called on him to-day by appointment: but would only say with respect to the negotiations that the Russians had accepted our "line" by Adrianople: and the principle of compensating by a stipulated "start"; or proportionate notice, for the difference between the time required for the voyage from Besika to Constantinople, and that required for the journey from Adrianople to that city. But they had only accepted it in principle, and were making enquiries with respect to the details.

Count Münster asked Lord Salisbury with respect to the willingness of England to enter into a Conference when this matter was arranged. Lord Salisbury replied that, if Russia would lay the whole Treaty of San Stefano before the Congress, England would enter at once into it. But if Russia declined this

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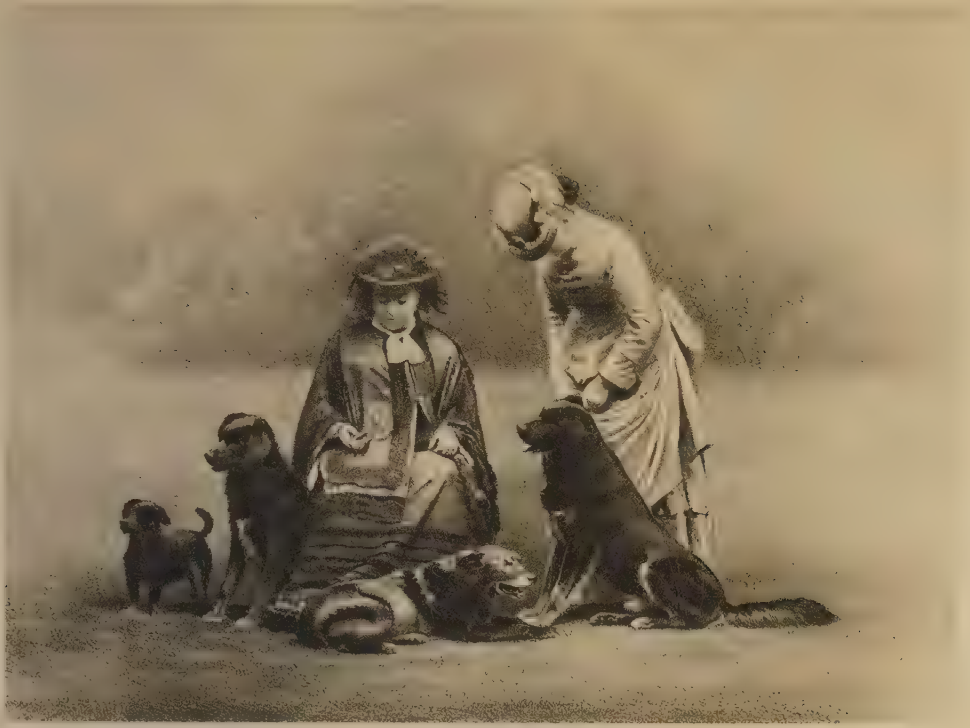
[1] Princess Beatrice's twenty-first birthday.



H.M. Queen Victoria and H.R.H. the Princess Beatrice.

Photograph probably taken at Osborne about 1875.

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mode of action, he did not think any advantage would be gained by attempting any intermediate form of words for that purpose. It was of no use to go into Congress while the ideas of the principal persons engaged were so divergent that a hostile conclusion of it was almost inevitable. It would be much better in the interests of peace that steps should be taken, with the advice and assistance of a friendly Power like Germany, to ascertain how far it was possible for Russia and England to agree upon essential points by unofficial and confidential negotiation than to aggravate their difference by the publicity attending the discussions of a Congress. In this Count Münster concurred. . . .

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

SIMLA, 1*st May* 1878.—The Viceroy presents his humble duty to the Queen Empress, and is happy to be able to inform her Majesty that the greatest enthusiasm is shown by the native troops of all arms now embarking from Bombay.[1] The eagerness evinced by the native troops in all parts of India for active employment on foreign service is also most remarkable, and the Viceroy continues to receive from her Majesty's Indian Feudatories cordial assurances of their desire to contribute towards the general defence of the Empire in the event of war with any foreign Power.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5*th May* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that he saw Count Schouvaloff yesterday with respect to his intended journey to St. Petersburg. He gave to the Count the paper ("Memorandum for the Cabinet") which had been agreed upon by the Cabinet for that purpose, and which your Majesty will have received. In conversation the

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[1] The troops ordered from India to the Mediterranean. See Introductory Note.

Russian Ambassador did not seem to think that the division of the new Bulgaria would prove so great a difficulty as the nature of the institutions which it was proposed to give to the province south of the Balkans. He did not press absolutely for autonomy under an hereditary Prince: but he demurred to any arrangement which should give Bulgarians "back to the Turks," and said that the Emperor, having proclaimed himself the liberator of the Bulgarians, could not recede from that position. Lord Salisbury pointed out to him that England was as [anxious as] Russia to protect these people from misgovernment: but that the essential point was that Turkey should retain the political and military control necessary for her own security against an invader from the north. He did not dissent from the possibility of arranging a Government which should combine these requisites. He proposes to leave England on Wednesday morning. No other interview of importance took place.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, 9*th May* 1878.

MADAM,— . . . The energetic and dignified attitude now assumed by your Majesty's Government, in reference to Eastern affairs, has most unquestionably had a very favourable and salutary effect throughout India. The publication of Lord Salisbury's admirable Circular has, in a single day, transformed the whole situation, placing England once more conspicuously before her Eastern subjects and Western neighbours, in her old and noble character of the firm guardian of Public Law. Here, I think, there is a general impression that the chances of an honourable peace have been greatly increased by the clear intimation given to Russia, that England, if needs be, will not shrink from an honourable war to enforce it. But the practical demonstrations of spontaneous loyalty which have been elicited from your Majesty's great Feudatories throughout India, by their impression that war may be imminent, are exceedingly significant; and will, I trust, be very gratifying to your Majesty.

The Nepaulese Government has privately intimated a desire to place its army at our disposal to assist in garrisoning India, if, in the event of war, we should find it necessary to withdraw any large portion of our own troops for active service in Europe, or beyond the frontier. The Maharajah of Cashmere has placed all his picked troops in a state of preparation for field service, and requested that they may be employed by us for the defence of the frontier, if necessary. From Scindia and Holkar I have received similar assurances of their desire to contribute unconditionally to the general defence of the Empire, and the interests of your Majesty's Government. I humbly ask permission to enclose for your Majesty's perusal, the copy of a private letter which has, since, been officially confirmed by the Begum of Bhopal; who places, not only her army, but all the resources of her State at the service of your Majesty's Government, in the event of war. The Maharajah of Alwar has telegraphed to me offering to raise at once two regiments, 500 infantry, and 600 cavalry at his own expense: and I yesterday received a telegram from the Co-regents of Hyderabad, earnestly requesting that, in the event of war, all the military forces of that State might be employed by the British Government on any service for which we think they can be useful.

I venture to think, Madam, that there could scarcely be a stronger vindication of the wisdom of that policy which received public expression by the Proclamation of your Majesty's Imperial title. For I doubt if offers so spontaneous, so numerous, and so *unconditional*, to contribute by all the means in their power, to the enthusiastic defence of a united Empire, at the very first prospect of a contingency which, after all, is still most uncertain, and may not arise, have ever before been received from the native States of India by any previous Governor-General.

The enthusiasm of our own native Army is equally satisfactory, and equally significant. The selection by your Majesty's Government of a few of your Majesty's native Indian troops for service in Europe, and with the intention of brigading them with troops of your Majesty's English army, has had the most felicitous effect in India. . . . Northern India is a practically inexhaustible field for the recruitment of men accustomed, almost from childhood, to bear arms, and with all the habits and instincts which constitute a first-rate fighting material. Experience has proved that these men are easily disciplined by British officers. And, should it hereafter be found that there is no greater impediment in England than there appears to be in India, to the employment of such troops in large numbers on active service in Europe, your Majesty will have at your command, in case of need, as large an army, or at least the means of creating as large an army, as that of any great continental military Power. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 12 *Mai* 1878.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—J'espère que vous êtes plus satisfaite de la situation générale des affaires.

La résolution prise par l'Angleterre d'employer, en cas de conflit avec la Russie, ses armées de l'Inde a produit un grand effet sur le Continent. Les amis de l'Angleterre s'en réjouissent vivement. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 22*nd May* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, submits that he has to-day seen Count Beust.

He came to make a proposition substantially similar to that reported by Sir Henry Elliot in a despatch your Majesty has seen, but which for easier reference is enclosed. The gist of it is that Count Andrassy is willing to make terms with England as to the questions which relate to Bulgaria, and to join in pressing them upon Russia, if England would at the same time join in pressing upon Turkey Austria's proposition concerning Bosnia: and would also join in pressing upon Russia Austria's objection to the port proposed to be given to Montenegro.

Lord Salisbury was able to reply that Mr. Layard was supporting Count Zichy's most recent propositions. As to Montenegro, Lord Salisbury pointed out that, if the other points in the Treaty of S. Stefano to which England took objection were yielded, it would be impossible for your Majesty's Ministers to come to Parliament and to ask for twenty or thirty millions sterling to make war in order to prevent the enlargement of Montenegro. If, however, Russia should not give way upon the other points, and England and Austria should join in pressing them, Lord Salisbury thought that the Montenegrin question might be included as part of the *ensemble*. On this matter, however, he proposed to consult his colleagues. With this view Count Beust appeared to be satisfied. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

F.O., 23*rd May* 1878 (8.37 p.m.).—The Russian Ambassador has explained the Czar's views.

He adheres to Bessarabia, Montenegro, Kars, and Batoum. He concedes that on the west all non-Slav populations shall be cut off from Ignatieff's Bulgaria, and that on the south the port shall be removed from the Ægean Sea, and thus continue to be in the Turkish Empire with western provinces fully restored: that the remainder shall be either divided as was proposed into autonomous State north of Balkans, and to the south a Turkish province with guarantees for good government; or else that the autonomous principle shall be abandoned altogether. All the two Turkish provinces under arrangements like those of the Conference of Constantinople. He consents that the term of occupation shall be limited; that, in organising administration, European shall be substituted for Russian machinery, that reforms in the Greek provinces shall be submitted to Europe, not to Russia, that Bayazid and the road from Trebizond to Persia shall be given back to the Turks, and that security shall be taken that the indemnity is not used as a pretext for territorial annexation. Nothing agreed to on our side. Everything reserved for Cabinet to-morrow. Prince Bismarck, if we agree, will send invitations to Congress, in sending it that its acceptance implies a consent to submit the whole Treaty to Congress, the Russians will thereupon accept.

It is proposed to send orders about the Turkish [Convention] to Mr. Layard by telegraph to-morrow after the Cabinet.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 23*rd May* 1878.—Have the greatest suspicions of Russian proposals and trust nothing will be accepted which could divide us from Austria. Col. Wellesley said, if we declared we would not allow them to take the fortresses demanded from the Turks, the Russians would *desist at once.* There must be no half measures. The conduct of Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Gladstone, and others, which is shameful, must not deter you from acting boldly. What can be done to counteract the bad effect of these speeches in India?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 24*th May* 1878 (7.15 p.m.).—By direction of the Cabinet I proposed several alterations to the Russian Ambassador of his Memorandum, the chief of which was with reference to the military power to be exercised by the Turks in the new province south of the Balkans. The Cabinet thought the proposal entirely to exclude the Turkish army inadmissible. The Russian Ambassador has referred home for permission to make modifications.

I have been very careful to keep as much as possible on the same ground as the Austrians; the only point on which we were warned by the House of Commons leaders that we could not follow them being Montenegro.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Layard.
[*Draft of Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 24*th May* 1878.—Propose most secretly to Sultan following defensive alliance to secure his territory for the future in Asia:

"If Batoum, Kars, Ardahan, or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time to take possession of any further portion of the Asiatic territories of Sultan, as fixed by the definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join Sultan in defending them by force of arms. In return Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms (to be agreed upon later between the two Powers) into Government and protection of Christian and other subjects of the Porte in those territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England."

It is impossible for England to exercise the necessary vigilance over Syria and Asia Minor, and to accumulate, when required, troops and material of war in time to be of use in repelling invasion or frustrating foreign attempts to excite rebellion in Asia Minor or Syria, unless she possesses a stronghold near the coast. Presence of English in Cyprus will enable them to strengthen Sultan's authority in Syria and Mesopotamia, where, after late events, it will probably be much shaken. As England has no desire to impoverish Porte, she will pay yearly what ever is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the Island. *This alliance will be conditional on Russia retaining Kars and her conquests in Armenia.* If they are given up Cyprus will be evacuated, and this Treaty will be at an end.

[*Separate Telegram.*]

Press an immediate acceptance of the terms in my telegram of to-day with all the energy in your power. Point out that this arrangement makes safe Asiatic Turkey, the field from which the Sultan's army is supplied with men: and that it must be accepted at once if Sultan wishes to retain the good-will of England. The present opportunity, if neglected, will never recur. We are on the point of an arrangement by which Russian army will be withdrawn from Constantinople, and the autonomous Bulgarian Principality will be limited to north of the Balkans. If the Sultan does not consent to the above arrangement it will not be in the power of England to pursue these negotiations any further, and the capture of Constantinople, and the partition of the Empire, will be the immediate result. Nothing has saved the Sultan from this extremity, for which not only Russia but other Powers wished, except *the friendship of England*: but England will *desist from all further efforts* unless Sultan agrees to *allow her to protect* his Asiatic Empire by an alliance on these terms.

Make Sultan understand that you must have written engagement as above not later than Sunday evening; and that the most absolute secrecy must be observed.[1]

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 24*th May* 1878.

MADAM, AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—I will venture on this day, to avail myself of the privilege which your Majesty accorded to me, of addressing your Majesty more directly than is my wont.

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[1] The Sultan was persuaded to agree; and the Convention was signed at Constantinople on 4th June, the Schouvaloff Memorandum (constituting the agreement with Russia) having been signed in London on 30th May. See Introductory Note.

For to-day, which has given to my country a Sovereign, whose reign, it is my hope and ambition, may rank with that of Elizabeth, has also given to me, her humble, but chosen servant, a Mistress, whom to serve is to love: and who can combine the highest attributes of Royalty with all those qualities, which make life gracious, and full of charm.

May every anniversary of this day bring increased lustre to your Majesty's throne, and, to the circle of your affections, increased tranquillity and content!

Ever remembering a wish your Majesty once deigned to express, I venture to beg that your Majesty may accept some drawings[1] which, for a moment, may amuse your Majesty, and may remind your Majesty of a home that your visit has made historic. Ever, with all duty and affection, your Majesty's devoted BEACONSFIELD.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 29*th May* 1878.—Heard old Lord Russell was dead, having died last night. He had been ill for the last three weeks, and his memory quite gone. He was nearly 86. A man of much talent, who leaves a name behind him, kind and good, with a great knowledge of the constitution, who behaved very well on many trying occasions; but he was impulsive, very selfish (as shown on many occasions, especially during Lord Aberdeen's administration), vain, and often reckless and imprudent. He was a link with the past, and was one of my first Ministers forty-one years ago.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 31*st May* 1878.— . . . The Queen thinks great progress is being made with respect to a Congress, though she must own to disbelieving any *permanent* settlement of Peace until we have fought and beaten the Russians, and that we shall have only put off the evil hour. But truly happy shall she be if she is mistaken, and if such means and measures are taken which will settle the Eastern question so far at least as regards Russian interference.

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[1] Of Hughenden. See above, p. 590.

The Queen again cyphered about Lord Beaconsfield's going to the Congress if it takes place. There is no doubt that no one could carry out our views, proposals, etc., except him, for no one has such weight and such power of conciliating men, and no one such firmness, or has a stronger sense of the honour and interests of his Sovereign and country, if only the place of meeting could be brought nearer.[1]

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *2nd June* 1878.—Was reading, when a telegram was brought to me saying, the Emperor of Germany had again been shot at, and this time wounded, but they hoped not dangerously. How awful! Dreadfully shocked and startled. Indeed one dreadful event after another is taking place. God preserve the dear old Emperor! Telegrams from every direction came pouring in, till past 12 at night. The Emperor was wounded by 30 pellets, in the head, face, shoulders, and both arms! The indignation and consternation great. An old man of 81, so beloved, who had gone through so many battles, to be struck down by the hand of the assassin! The monster is a Dr. Nobiling, a Doctor of Philosophy, who fired twice with a gun loaded with slugs and shot. Emperor was taken home at once, and put to bed. He was alone in the same carriage as he was on the former occasion, and it happened again in the avenue *Unter den Linden*. Heard poor Vicky and Fritz, greatly distressed, had left Hatfield at once, and were going straight off by mail packet to-night *via* Calais to Berlin. Poor Empress and Louise, how dreadful for them! Had a telegram from Lenchen, who had just been seeing Vicky and Fritz off, and after *12* (I have been so late lately) got one from Lord O. Russell, saying he had been to the Palace. Doctor's report was, wounds painful, but not dangerous. The Emperor suffered from great loss of blood, but was calm and conscious. The worst wound, at wrist. There was no fever, and state satisfactory.

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[1] The Diary of the Berlin Congress which Lord Beaconsfield kept for the Queen, and the long and detailed letters which he wrote from Berlin to her Majesty, are given at length in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 9.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1*st July* 1878.—Already the seventh month in the year! How much has occurred since the 20th of May, when we left Windsor for Scotland! On the 25th, the sudden death of the poor Duchess of Argyll, on June 2nd old Lord Russell died, on the 31st the dreadful foundering of the *Grosser Kurfürst*[1] with 300 lives lost, the next day, June 1st, poor Mr. Moon, of the Windsor Mews, drowned himself, on the 2nd the frightful and so nearly successful attempt on the old Emperor William, on the 12th the death of the poor King of Hanover, on the 24th, his funeral here, on the 25th the arrival of dear Arthur's *fiancée*, Louischen, on the 26th the death from typhoid fever of the poor young Queen Mercedes, and the destruction of the poor young 20-year-old King Alphonso's happiness and hopes for the future, only to be compared to poor Princess Charlotte's death, which quite crushed poor Uncle Leopold, and destroyed a nation's hopes.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 7*th July* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully expresses a hope that in what he is going to say he is not passing beyond the bounds of his duty, or trespassing on the gracious favour your Majesty has uniformly shown him. He wishes humbly to represent to your Majesty that it is of the very utmost importance for the interests of your Majesty's Government, that Lord Beaconsfield should be in a good condition of health and strength on the night when he has to explain the Treaty in the House of Lords—which would ordinarily be the first or second night after his arrival. For this object it is very important to spare his strength as much as is practicable until that night is over. He is now very badly affected with his asthma: and the journey home will try him very much. Lord Salisbury would, therefore, humbly suggest that your Majesty should command him to report himself to you after—not before—the presentation of the Treaty to Parliament. Lord Salisbury would not have ventured to offer advice on a matter outside his immediate duty, if he had not felt that the matter might very naturally escape your Majesty's notice, and that serious injury would consequently result to your Majesty's service. He trusts that under these considerations your Majesty will excuse this letter.

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[1] The German fleet was proceeding down Channel when, off Folkestone, the *Grosser Kurfürst* was rammed and sunk by the *König Wilhelm.*

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9*th July* 1878.—Your letter received. Do not hasten your journey or you may be unfit for Parliament. It will be a relief to you if you do not feel I am waiting, so I have decided to go to Osborne as arranged, and you can come there later after a rest. You could announce that I have permitted you to make the statement in the House of Lords before seeing me.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

NEUES PALAIS, 13*th July* 1878.—The Congress has ended its labours! I am only so afraid that the *hurry* to get over the work has been *too* great, and that the durability may suffer, it has been driven on with such desperate haste by Prince Bismarck, and that is not good! These matters are too serious to stand a hasty treatment. Nobody can rejoice more heartily and sincerely than I do at the Treaty with Turkey, and the occupation of the isle of Cyprus! Amongst all friends of England, this has produced the very *best* impression, and many of the German newspapers have praised the measure very much.

I think it will be excellent, and trust the once so flourishing island will become so again, and that it may be a means of making the poor Turks govern better and get their unhappy devastated country into better order, and be a wholesome check to the Russians who will feel that they are *watched*, and cannot "*get up*" another war—as they have done this by such foul means.

I am sure you too must feel happy and relieved that it has all ended so; if England is known to be ever vigilant and ever on the alert, and determined NOT to be trifled with, and has all her means ready at hand, her forces, etc., the peace of Europe will *not*, and *cannot* be disturbed again so soon! It has been a capital thing that the Foreign Ministers of different nations have made each other's acquaintance, it will make written communication a very different thing in future! Prince Bismarck is much struck and pleased with Lord Beaconsfield.

We give our great dinner to-day.

Good-bye, dearest beloved Mama, pray excuse this haste. Ever your most dutiful and affectionate daughter, VICTORIA.

General Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

W. STRAND, 16*th July* 1878.—A large crowd from Charing Cross to Downing Street gave Lord Beaconsfield a hearty reception; flags were on some houses and cloth on windows. He drove in open carriage with Lord Salisbury, Lady Abergavenny, Lady Northcote. On arrival General Ponsonby gave your

Majesty's letter and bouquet; he was very gratified, wrote a few lines in reply; looks very fatigued.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 20*th July* 1878.—Went out to tea with Beatrice and remained reading and writing till near 7, when I went in to see Lord Beaconsfield, who had just arrived. He looked well, was in excellent spirits and had a great deal to tell. The difficulties were very great at first. Bismarck, though very Prussian, was an extraordinary man, who talked very loosely and carelessly about everything, most original and peculiar; delighted at our taking Cyprus, as that was *taking something*. Gortchakoff, very old (80), shrivelled up, and *passé*; Andrassy, frightened at Bismarck, but acted cordially with us. The Russians were very sore about Cyprus, at least all but Schouvaloff. At one moment, Lord Beaconsfield had to threaten to break up the Congress, and even let it be known his special train was ordered, thereby carrying the point which the Russians wanted to resist. He could not sufficiently praise Mr. Corry, who, Lord Salisbury told him, was fit for a delicate diplomatic mission. Lord Beaconsfield, Lady Waterpark, Horatia Stopford, Amy Lambart, Mr. Corry, and General Ponsonby dined. Lord Beaconsfield in high spirits, describing the Congress, Bismarck, and all the various people he had met, and all he had done at Berlin. Mr. Corry also told us a great deal.

21*st July*.—After luncheon saw Lord Beaconsfield. He asked me for some rewards for those who had been with him, and who had been much concerned with the Congress, including Lord Tenterden, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Corry wished for nothing, but I insisted on his getting a C.B., as he has been so useful, and as Lord Salisbury's Secretary Mr. Ph. Currie gets it.

Lord Beaconsfield then said he wished to consult me about proposing Lorne as Governor-General of Canada. I was rather divided in my feelings; satisfaction at the distinction for Lorne, and the fine, independent position for dear Louise; but uncertainty as to her liking to leave her home interests, and go so far away from all her family. The thought, too, of parting from her for so long was very painful. Still, I would not object or oppose the offer, but asked Lord Beaconsfield to make it himself.

Queen Victoria to Lord Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th July* 1878.—Don't you think *I* should write a few very strong lines to Lord Derby, telling him that it was contrary to all precedent and all constitutional usage, to divulge[1] what passed in the Cabinet to which he belonged only three months ago? Ministers always ask permission to make explanations, and it will be very dangerous for the future, if this is allowed to pass unobserved.

Lord Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

DOWNING STREET, 19*th July* 1878 (2.5 p.m.)—I entirely approve your Majesty writing such a letter.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, 19*th July* 1878.—Lord Derby will perhaps be surprised at receiving a letter from the Queen to-day, but her object in writing is to point out to him a fact which he seems to have entirely overlooked, viz. that he has spoken in Parliament of discussions and the consideration of plans of the most confidential nature, which should never be revealed to anyone.

When Lord Derby resigned he pursued the usual course of asking the Queen's permission to explain in Parliament his reasons for doing so. This was given, and is the usual course pursued according to precedent. But to speak, as Lord Derby has now done on two occasions, of the *secret* deliberations of a

[1] In his speech in the House of Lords on 18th July.

Cabinet to which he belonged till only three months and half ago, is a most unusual and, she cannot but think, hardly constitutional course; and the Queen is anxious to express her hope and trust that Lord Derby will for the future abstain from a course the mischief of which cannot be too strongly pointed out, as it tends to shake confidence in statesmen who have held high and important offices in the Councils of their Sovereign and country, by showing that the most secret deliberations may at any time be divulged, which would form a most dangerous precedent.

The Queen feels sure that Lord Derby would never wish to do anything of this kind, and will at once understand her motive for writing to him.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

23 St. James's Square, 22*nd July* 1878.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits that he has been honoured by your Majesty's letter of the 19th.

Lord Derby regrets your Majesty's disapproval of anything said or done by him; but he must be allowed respectfully to recall to your Majesty's recollection the fact that he had full permission from your Majesty, conveyed in a letter from the First Lord of the Treasury, at the time of Lord Derby's resignation, to make such statement as he might think fit relative to the causes of his retirement.

Lord Derby did not avail himself at the moment of this permission, and, in his speech of March 28th, expressly stated that he postponed his explanation until the state of negotiations should make it no longer inexpedient in the interests of the public service.

Lord Beaconsfield having in the debate of the 8th of April referred to him in such a manner as to make it appear that the calling out of the reserves had led to his withdrawal, Lord Derby felt it necessary to remove the impression that this had been the sole cause, or the main cause, of his leaving the Cabinet. But the same reason influenced him then as on the 28th of March, and prevented his making a disclosure which would have injuriously affected pending negotiations. The conclusion of the negotiations removed this objection, and he then used the permission which he had received from your Majesty three months before, and which he did not, and does not, think could be held to be withdrawn because it had not been acted upon at once.

Lord Derby has no wish to renew a discussion on this matter in Parliament, but he trusts that he shall not be held to exceed his duty if any attack on the correctness of his assertion leads him to vindicate it. If your Majesty thinks it right to prohibit any further discussion under any circumstances, Lord Derby will, of course, feel it his duty to obey; but in that case he assumes that it will be open to him to state that he is prevented from taking the course, which he otherwise should have taken, by your Majesty's commands.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 24*th July* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has seen Lord Lorne, who has, naturally, requested some time to consider the proposition. It was the impression of Lord Beaconsfield, that Lord Lorne was personally not disinclined to entertain the suggestion. He spoke certainly of an exile of five years, but said "the wrench" would be with her Royal Highness.

Lord Beaconsfield pointed out, that annual visits to England were easy, and that the five years might be reduced according to feeling.[1]

Lord Beaconsfield is of opinion, that your Majesty should not reply to Lord Derby, but that General Ponsonby should communicate to him, that your Majesty expects that, whenever a Privy Councillor makes any statement in Parliament respecting proceedings in your Majesty's Councils, your Majesty's permission to do so should be first solicited, and the object of the statement made clear. And that the permission, thus given, should only serve for the particular instance, and not be considered as an open licence.

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[1] Lord Lorne accepted; and the appointment, wrote Lord Dufferin to the Queen on 10th August, was received with general delight from one end of Canada to the other.

General Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, *25th July* 1878.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—I am commanded by the Queen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd, and at the same time to communicate to you that her Majesty expects that, whenever a Privy Councillor makes any statement in Parliament respecting proceedings in her Majesty's Councils, the Queen's permission to do so should be first solicited, and the object of the statement made clear; and that the permission thus given should only serve for the particular instance, and not be considered as an open licence. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.[1]

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *25th July* 1878.— . . . M. Waddington has addressed two despatches to Lord Salisbury, which are in tone quite friendly and unobjectionable; but in which he has rather given rein to his dramatic instinct, in recording his recollection of the conversations at Berlin. Lord Salisbury finds that Lord Beaconsfield is not able any more than himself to accept the sentiments attributed to them concerning Tunis. Lord Salisbury has called both M.

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[1] The Queen showed this correspondence to Lord Salisbury, who wrote to her Majesty on 10th August: "The rules which your Majesty has been moved to lay down by these novel circumstances will form a valuable addition to Constitutional Law on the subject. In these days, when the pressure is so great in favour of publicity on all subjects, it is of high importance that the secrecy of your Majesty's Councils should be jealously preserved." For the whole story of the proceedings at the Cabinet on 27th March, which caused Lord Derby's resignation, and of the controversy between him and his colleagues on the subject, see *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 7, and Lady Gwendolen Cecil's *Life of Lord Salisbury*, vol. ii, ch. 6.

d'Harcourt's attention to this misapprehension and also Lord Lyons'. There can, however, be no objection to our expressing our complete freedom from any jealousy of France's influence in that part of the Mediterranean. . . .

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 31*st July* 1878.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

With reference to the military decorations, the War Office has always claimed, and exercised, the privilege of recommending to your Majesty recipients for the Military Division of the Order of the Bath, as the Colonial Office exercises the same privilege with respect to the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Lord Beaconsfield himself thinks that all applications for honours should be submitted to your Majesty by the Prime Minister alone; and if your Majesty, on reflection, approves of such an arrangement, he would carry it into effect. The present occupation of the two offices in question would be favourable to it. But there might be a chief Minister, whom your Majesty might not wish to be invested with this increased authority. He shall take no step, therefore, in the matter until he receives your Majesty's commands. . . .

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 2*nd Aug.* 1878.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to report to your Majesty that the House divided at about 2.30, and the Government have a majority of 143.[1] Sir Stafford trusts that your Majesty will forgive his not writing more fully as it is so late. He spoke from about 12.45 to 1.45, and was very kindly received. There was great enthusiasm.

5th Aug.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to return his most sincere and humble thanks for your Majesty's gracious letter on the recent division.

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[1] On the Berlin Treaty.

It is indeed matter for sincere congratulation, and for thankfulness to Almighty God, that England has escaped the horrors of war and has been able to take so important and leading a part in promoting an honourable settlement, which may prove to be a happy one for the world.

It is impossible for anyone who has not seen the whole of what has passed to appreciate fully the services which Lord Beaconsfield has rendered to his country; and yet Sir Stafford hopes he may be forgiven for adding an expression of his own conviction that Lord Beaconsfield could not have succeeded as he has done if it had not been for the support which he has throughout received at the hands of your Majesty.

Sir Stafford fervently hopes that your Majesty may feel the full benefit of the relief from the strain and anxiety of the last two years; and may have the further gratification of seeing happy fruits from the great settlement which has been effected.

Sir Stafford thanks your Majesty for your gracious invitation. Balmoral has always the greatest charms for him, and he greatly looks forward to the honour of a visit. . . .

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, 31*st August* 1878.

MADAM,—Since I had last the honour of addressing your Majesty, events of a very serious character have occurred at Cabul, and on the Oxus.

Whilst the Russian army of the Caspian is, with the acquiescence and support of the Persian Government, rapidly advancing down the Attock Valley, absorbing the Akhal country, and thus approaching Herat, the Russian forces in Turkestan have been moved to strong positions along the right bank of the Oxus. These positions, if permanently held, will render the Russian frontier conterminous with the whole northern boundary of Afghanistan, and Russian influence predominant throughout the upper Afghan provinces; just as our own occupation of Quetta has, in less than two years, rendered British influence predominant in the south-western provinces of that State. Meanwhile the present Russian positions on the Oxus directly threaten Balkh and Maimana, and, indirectly, Herat. These positions having been established on the Afghan border, General Abnamoff, with a military escort, variously reported as numbering from two to three hundred mounted men (Cossacks and Usbegs) and accompanied by one or two other Russian officers of high rank, appears to have crossed the Oxus, reaching Cabul some weeks ago, ostensibly on a special embassy from the Emperor of Russia. There, he has already had several interviews with the Ameer; to whom in open Durbar, he presented two letters; one from General Kaufmann, and the other from the Czar himself. It is impossible to say as yet, whether the Ameer has received this Russian embassy through fear, or whether it has come at his own invitation, and is the public result of the secret communications which (as repeatedly reported by the Government of India to your Majesty's India Office) have been going on with great activity during the last two years between Shere Ali and the confidential agents of General Kaufmann.

One thing, however, is certain. The Ameer, who little more than a year ago flatly refused to receive at Cabul a British mission of any kind, has now been publicly entertaining at his Court, with marked honour and distinction, a large Russian embassy of high rank charged with a direct communication for his Highness from the Czar himself; and that communication appears to be of so confidential a character that its contents have been concealed by the Ameer from his own Ministers. These facts are now known throughout all Central Asia and India; where they are, of course, popularly regarded and commented on, as a serious check to the policy and power of your Majesty. Another thing is equally certain. The Czar's despatch of a Russian mission to Cabul, whilst the Imperial troops in Turkestan are being so massed upon the Oxus as [to] exert the strongest possible pressure upon the Ameer's northern provinces, is a flagrant and public violation of Prince Gortchakoff's reiterated assurances to your Majesty's Government "que S.M.I. considère l'Afghanistan comme entièrement en dehors de la sphère où la Russie peut être appelée à exercer son influence."

In these circumstances, I have recommended to your Majesty's Government the immediate despatch (at any risk), by the Government of India, of a British mission to Cabul. That recommendation having received the sanction of your Majesty's Government, I have appointed General Sir Neville Chamberlain (who is personally acquainted with the Ameer) to take charge of this important mission. For its subordinate members I have also selected officers specially chosen for their knowledge of the people, the affairs and the languages of Afghanistan; in which latter particular, the Russian mission, still at Cabul, is said to be very deficient. The mission will be accompanied by a military escort, not exceeding 300 men. Sir Neville will be instructed, in the first instance, to demand explanations of the Ameer as to his reception of a Russian mission after his refusal to receive a British one; and then to use every endeavour to effect, if possible, in concert with his Highness, a pacific solution of the difficulty of the position in which we find ourselves now placed.

But it is quite possible that the Ameer may still refuse to receive our mission, possible even that it may be fired upon by his orders. This risk we must now run: for I do not think that public opinion would support your Majesty's Government, if it attacked the Ameer before he has placed himself unmistakeably, by some overt act, in open hostility to us. We must, however, be prepared for the failure of the mission; and in that event prompt recourse to stronger measures will certainly be necessary for the safety of our frontier. About these measures I am in communication with Lord Cranbrook. The apparent object of the Russian mission to Cabul (apart from the desire to inflict upon your Majesty's Government a public affront which will be keenly felt, and widely exaggerated, throughout the Asiatic East) is, I think, to obtain, by threats or promises or bribes, the Ameer's concurrence in some arrangement which will enable the Russians to connect their possessions in Turkestan with their base on the Caspian, by giving them a recognised and permanent foothold over that fertile fringe of Afghan territory which lies between Herat and the left bank of the Oxus. If any such arrangement be now effected with the Ameer, and permitted by your Majesty's Government, not only Merv, but also Herat, Balkh, and Maimana, will fall at once into the power of Russia. Our present north-west frontier will then become untenable; and our only remaining chance of permanent security will be to seize and hold the passes of the Hindu Kush.

Such are the difficulties and anxieties of the position in which we are landed at last by seven years of the policy pertinaciously imposed by Mr. Gladstone on successive Governments of India, in the conduct of their relations with Afghanistan. A small stitch taken in time, even a few years ago, would have certainly saved the nine big ones which may have to be taken now. . . . LYTTON.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *5th Sept.* 1878.— . . . [Lord Beaconsfield] is deeply sensible of your Majesty's kind enquiries after his health. Since the last week or so, he has lived in entire solitude, has seen, and has spoken to, no one; this extreme and perfect solitude, accompanied by strict regularity of habits, have produced a most beneficial change, and if he is enabled to persist in his system, he is sanguine of considerable, if not complete recovery. . . .

He has been reading, for relaxation in the evening, some of Shakespeare's romantic plays : among them the " Midsummer Night's Dream." He had not read any of them for quarter of a century. What struck him, and very strongly, was this : The whole of the plot of the " Midsummer Night's Dream " is laid on May-night, and all the schemes and preparations are for the ensuing morn, " May Day " ! Whence then this incongruous title ? As your Majesty has much poetic taste and reading you might, Madam, in the inspiring silence of the " Glassalt Shiel," muse over this, and explain the mystery. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Sultan of Turkey.

[*Copie.*] BALMORAL CASTLE, 19 *Septembre* 1878.

SIRE ET MON BON FRÈRE,—Votre Majesté Impériale vient de m'envoyer un Album superbe, pour lequel je ne sais comment lui en exprimer ma reconnaissance. Il est ravissant, et les portraits qu'il contient de vos chers enfants, qui doivent être charmants, me font grand plaisir. La lettre de votre Majesté, qui accompagnait ce cadeau précieux, m'a vivement touchée. Je suis bien heureuse que ce que mon gouvernement a pu faire pour votre Empire a été apprécié par votre Majesté et que vous croyez à la sincérité de mes vœux et de mes efforts pour la Turquie.

C'est avec une vive satisfaction que j'apprends que vous avez l'intention d'envoyer plus tard vos fils en Angleterre pour y compléter leur éducation, et je serais trop heureuse de pouvoir faire ce que je puis pour leur être utile. J'espère que rien n'empêchera la réalisation de ce projet.

Je saisis cette occasion pour dire combien de fois j'ai pensé à V.M. pendant les grandes difficultés et les épreuves pénibles auxquelles vous avez été exposé.

Que Dieu vous garde and vous donne la force de faire tout ce que vous désirez pour l'amélioration et le développement de Votre Empire, est la prière bien sincère de celle qui se dit, Sire et cher Frère, de Votre Majesté Impériale la bien bonne Sœur, VICTORIA R. & I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *6th Oct.* 1878.—Saw Sir S. Northcote, who had arrived. The Cabinet had been much occupied with this alarming Afghan affair.[1] Lord Lytton should not have sent the mission, having been forbidden to do so by the Cabinet. Now, of course, we must punish the insult, and support Lord Lytton. Care must be taken that we are quite sure of success, and that there should be no repetition of the misfortunes at Cabul in 1840[2]! This time the Kyberins, and other Hill tribes are with us. The Indian reliefs are being stopped coming over. Sir Stafford said he felt very anxious, till we heard more. All depended on whether the Ameer was assisted by Russia or not. That she is at the bottom of it all, there is little doubt

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

ABERGELDIE CASTLE, *7th Oct.* 1878.— . . . I am so very anxious that you should intimate a strong desire to the Royal Academy that Mr. Leighton should be chosen as President, to succeed poor Sir Francis Grant; as he is really the only man in this country who has a thorough knowledge and appreciation of Art, and would do more to ameliorate and cause it to prosper, which it is really much in need of. Dear Papa had the highest opinion of him when he was a young man; and unfortunately has not known him since he has risen to be one of our first artists. I know how highly Vicky and Alice appreciate him, and how I feel convinced the whole artistic world of this country would approve—but with few exceptions—his being placed in a post which he is worthy to fill in every sense of the word.

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[1] The forcible refusal, at Ali Masjid, to let Sir Neville Chamberlain's mission pass into Afghanistan.

[2] It was in the winter of 1841–2 that a series of disasters befell a large British force of 8,000 men in Afghanistan, beginning with massacres in Cabul, and ending up with an overwhelming defeat in the Jagdalak Pass. Sir W. Macnaghten and Sir A. Burnes and almost the whole army perished. See First Series, vol. i, chs. 10 and 11.

Mr. Leighton is besides a man of great culture. He is devoted to music, and speaks French, German, and Italian like he does English. There may be some of the older members of the Academy, who are no doubt jealous of him; but they are not real artists and it is deplorable to see their daubs year after year adorning (?) the walls of the Academy. The last few exhibitions have certainly deteriorated very much; there is but one opinion on the subject; and Mr. Leighton is the man, who, with time, may produce a more favourable change. The worst of it is that all those who can write R.A. after their name have the right to exhibit their pictures, although their talent, as age creeps on, must prove necessarily vastly diminished.

If it were impossible for you to bring your influence directly to bear on the Royal Academy, would it not be possible for Lord Beaconsfield to say a word? I look upon it as matter of the highest importance, and, as you are the chief patron of Art, a word from you would be sure to have a great effect. . . .[1]

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 23*rd Oct.* 1878.—Am most anxious to know if you have sanctioned Viceroy's proposals? Any doubt, want of firmness or delay now may be *fatal* to us. The whole of India will watch our conduct, and the assistance we may expect will depend on our energy.

[1] Mr. Leighton, who ultimately became Lord Leighton, was elected.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

24*th Oct.* 1878 (4.5 p.m.).—Your Majesty's cyphered telegram received.

Viceroy's proposals will be discussed in Cabinet early to-morrow.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 25*th Oct.* 1878.—Shall be most anxious to hear after Cabinet.

If we waver and delay, our prestige will be fatally lost in India. Fear even now delay will do much harm. Understood it had been agreed on at any rate to drive the Ameer back? Pray state my views and strong convictions to the Cabinet.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

DOWNING STREET, 25*th Oct.* 1878 (4.57 p.m.).—The Cabinet decided to-day after very long sitting that, while military preparations should continue and even on a greater scale, a *locus pœnitentiæ* should be accorded to the Ameer, and that he should have the opportunity of making his peace before they passed the frontier. The reasons for this course were weighty. Among others it does not appear that the Viceroy is yet prepared to act.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 31*st Oct.* 1878.—Finished reading *Coningsby*, a very remarkable, strange book. I often recognise Lord Beaconsfield's language and feeling. There are some beautiful sentiments in it, and some very striking opinions, a sort of democratic conservatism, but the same large, patriotic views he holds now. The story is strange, and the language too stilted and unnatural. Some of the characters are easily to be recognised. His love for, and faith in, the Jews is very apparent.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 4*th Nov.* 1878.—I have had several letters from the Viceroy giving an account of his proceedings, and I wish to know what you would advise me to answer. Hitherto have always praised and encouraged him.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

5*th Nov.* 1878 (1.37 p.m.).—With duty. Your Majesty's telegram received. It would be better not to communicate to the Viceroy until after the Ministerial night[1] of the ninth instant.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 11*th Nov.* 1878.—Sir Michael Hicks Beach presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to inform your Majesty that, on returning to London from Balmoral, he found a despatch just arrived from Sir Bartle Frere (dated Natal, September 30th) expressing his fear that a war with the Zulus was imminent, and urgently requesting that your Majesty's forces already serving in South Africa—about 6,000 strong—should be strengthened by a reinforcement of two battalions of Infantry.

In previous despatches (dated Sept. 10th and Sept. 14th) Sir B. Frere had expressed a similar desire; but as these gave no reasons in support of the demand, and were written from Cape Town before Sir B. Frere had been able to communicate personally in Natal with Sir H. Bulwer and Lord

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[1] The Guildhall Banquet on Lord Mayor's Day, at which Lord Beaconsfield could speak and review the situation.

Chelmsford, Sir M. Hicks Beach, after consultation with his colleagues, and especially with the Secretary for War, had replied (on October 17th) that your Majesty's Government were not prepared to comply with the request. All the information which had been received with respect to the position of affairs in Zululand appeared to them to justify a confident hope that, by the exercise of prudence, and by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise, it would be possible to avert the very serious evil of a war with them. Sir M. Hicks Beach further suggested to Sir B. Frere that, if the state of feeling in the Transvaal, and on the borders of Natal, rendered it necessary to strengthen your Majesty's forces in that particular part of South Africa, all the Imperial troops (with the exception of a small garrison in Cape Town) might be moved to that district—leaving to the Colonial volunteers and police their proper task of maintaining order in the Cape Colony, where peace has now been for some months restored.

Sir B. Frere was at the same time informed that some additional officers for "special service," for whom he had also asked, would at once be sent out.

But as the despatch from Natal of September 30th was written by Sir B. Frere after consultation with Sir H. Bulwer and Lord Chelmsford, and fully stated his views and arguments, Sir M. Hicks Beach felt that the whole subject required further consideration by the Cabinet: and, after communicating with the Prime Minister, submitted it to his colleagues on Thursday last.

The Cabinet were of opinion that the reply already given should be adhered to; that, in view of the present aspect of affairs in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, it was specially desirable, if possible, to maintain peace with the Zulus, and not apparently to weaken ourselves for more important operations by sending more troops to South Africa at this juncture: and that Sir B. Frere had given no sufficient proof that the Zulus intended to attack us, or reason for our attacking them.

In a private letter (dated Oct. 7th) Sir B. Frere expresses a hope that he will be able to settle a boundary dispute between the Transvaal and Zululand in a way satisfactory to the Zulus. If he is successful in this, Sir M. Hicks Beach thinks there is great hope that peace may be preserved.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12*th Nov.* 1878.— . . . With reference to your Majesty's enquiry as to the decision of the Cabinet with respect to the Cape, it was to adhere to their resolution not to send at present any further troops there.

There are, at present, six thousand Imperial troops at that settlement, and there appears to your Majesty's Government too much eagerness on the part of the authorities to encourage war, as long as it can be carried on principally by your Majesty's British forces.[1]

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 13*th Nov.* 1878.—Bad and distressing news from Darmstadt.[2] Alice telegraphs: "Alicky tolerable; darling May very ill, fever so high; Irene has got it too. I am miserable, such fear for the sweet little one." Her little darling, how terrible! Telegraphed to Princess Charles, to hear as often as possible. Poor dear Alice, and she so delicate herself. What an anxiety! It is like '61, when the poor Portuguese Royal family were struck down, one by one,[3] and my beloved Albert too!

16*th Nov.*—A very dreadful day. After breakfast, a telegram was brought to me, which said, that precious little May was gone! This is too dreadful. How my darling child adored that little angel! Alice terribly grieved but brave. Louis better, Ernie less satisfactory, and the others better, especially Alicky. Telegraphing to poor dear Alice, and all the family. Can think of little else, am so anxious. A telegram from poor dear Alice in the afternoon: "the pain is beyond words, but God's will be done. Our precious Ernie still a source of such terrible fear; the others, though not safe, better." Later, came a telegram, saying, Ernie had less fever and was sleeping quietly. This is more hopeful. My tears flow often, and my prayers are offered up, that his dear life may be spared.[1]

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[1] On Sir B. Frere's further representations, the reinforcements were sent at the end of November.

[2] Where Princess Alice's (Grand Duchess of Hesse) children were suffering from diphtheria.

[3] See First Series, vol. iii, ch. 30.

Memorandum by the Marquis of Salisbury.

Foreign Office, 25*th Nov.* 1878.—Count Schouvaloff called upon me this afternoon: and in the course of conversation . . . he spoke about Afghanistan. The mission he thought was perfectly justifiable on the part of Russia. We were at one time very near "les coups de canon": and when the Indian troops appeared in the Mediterranean, it was but an elementary measure of self-defence to attempt to arrange a diversion by way of Afghanistan. He himself, however, had known nothing about it. Though he had gone, after the Treaty of Berlin, for three weeks to St. Petersburg, no one had told him anything of it: and he first heard of it through the newspapers at Wildbad. He had gone straight to Prince Gortchakoff, who was there—and had asked him—"Is it true there is a mission to Cabul?" "No, I think not," said the Prince. The mission would, however, have been withdrawn at once; only a good deal of strong writing about it commenced in the English newspapers: and the Russians did not like to put it in the power of the English to say that their threats had driven them (the Russians) away. It was absolutely untrue that any aid to the Ameer had been sent from Russia, either in the way of officers or arms. Count Schouvaloff had no information about

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[1] There was no further death among the Princess Alice's children.

General Kaufmann's speech. He did not think it possible that he could have been rightly reported: at any rate, it was directly at variance with his instructions. Count S. had met the Russian envoy General Stolietoff at Livadia. The General had been much astonished first at being received with open arms by the Ameer: and then at finding the intense hatred borne to us by the Ameer. The Ameer had stated to the envoy that Sir N. Chamberlain was a friend of his. On being asked why he had refused to receive his embassy he had answered that Chamberlain would come laden with gold to corrupt all his Ministers. The envoy had come to the conclusion that the Ameer's soldiers were very good ones, but badly armed. The Ameer, however, was *un imbécile*, as he believed himself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. If we had given him another fortnight's grace he would have given in. He had conceived hopes of Russian assistance, and had made an application; but owing to the enormous distance there was not time for the unfavourable answer to be received before the twentieth.

The Princess of Wales to Queen Victoria.

SANDRINGHAM, NORFOLK, *3rd December* 1878.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—Many, many thanks for your most affectionate letter[1] with all the kind things you say of me; but I feel really quite ashamed of so much praise as I don't deserve a quarter of it, though one thing at least is true—how entirely I return your affection, which I value above all things. From the first day of my landing in England, you have always shown me such invariable kindness that I should indeed be ungrateful if I did not do my best to show you in every way *how* much I appreciate it. Thanks, a thousand thanks for all your loving kindness. The charming picture of my pets has delighted me beyond measure, and I think it is very good—

[1] A birthday letter, the 1st December being the Princess's birthday.

the little brooch is TOO pretty, and is doubly precious in my eyes from your having picked up the stone yourself. We spent a very happy though quiet day, and my Bertie quite overloaded me with lovely presents. . . .

Ever, dearest Mama, your loving child, ALIX.

Bishop Baring to Queen Victoria.

AUCKLAND CASTLE, *3rd December* 1878.

MADAM,—It has pleased God, in His all-wise Providence, to afflict me with an illness which renders me unequal to the due discharge of the duties of my important diocese, and, after consulting the best medical authorities, my ailment is pronounced by them to be permanent and incurable. I am therefore compelled to ask your Majesty graciously to accept my resignation of the See of Durham.

As I am possessed of private means, the income of my successor[1] will not be diminished by the payment of any retiring pension to myself.

Earnestly entreating, for the sake of the best interests of my diocese, that your Majesty will be pleased to grant my petition, I beg to subscribe myself, ever your Majesty's loyal and devoted servant and subject, C. DUNELM.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, *3rd Dec.* 1878.—The Queen . . . trusts that the greatest care will be taken to prevent any appearance of disapproval of Lord Lytton's conduct. His *only* fault was precipitancy, and even this may very likely have been necessary. At any rate he should be supported by the whole Government in public, and pray on *no* account conceal Russia's conduct; let us hold a very firm tone, and put our foot down, and Russia *will* change her tone.

---

[1] Who was Dr. Lightfoot.

The Queen knows how strongly Lord Salisbury feels, and how aware he is of the necessity of strong language, for great civility and conciliatoriness will be set down as weakness, but she felt anxious to repeat to him, on the eve of the opening of Parliament, these her strong feelings and convictions.

Would Lord Salisbury show this letter to Lord Beaconsfield and Sir S. Northcote, as she has no time to write to the latter.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., *3rd Dec.* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter of this evening.

Before the messenger goes back he has only time to assure her Majesty [that we] are thoroughly convinced of the importance of supporting Lord Lytton. No idea of holding any other language has ever been entertained: and Lord Salisbury has spoken to Mr. Bourke in the same sense this evening.

Lord Salisbury respectfully concurs in your Majesty's view that expressions of civility to Russia would be out of place at the present juncture.

Lord Salisbury will communicate your Majesty's letter to the Prime Minister, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Queen Victoria to Lord Lytton.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, *6th Dec.* 1878.—The Queen must begin by her earnest congratulations and the expression of her pride and satisfaction at the brilliant successes[1] of her brave, noble soldiers, which is of the greatest importance in every way; but in no way surprises her, for British soldiers always do their duty and almost always are victorious. The loss of brave officers and men is always a source of deep sorrow to the Queen, but it is unavoidable; and to die for one's country and Sovereign in the discharge of duty is a worthy and noble end to this earthly life for a soldier.

---

[1] The victories of General (afterwards Lord) Roberts at Peiwar Kotal on 2nd and 3rd December.

The Queen has now to thank the Viceroy for several most interesting letters of the 20th July, 31st August, 26th September, 23rd and 28th October, and to express her regret at not having written before, but she has had much anxiety and much sorrow. The separation from her dear daughter,[1] and the anxiety (and a well-founded one) for her passage, the illness and death of her valued servant and friend Sir T. Biddulph[2] (to which Lord Lytton so kindly alludes in his last letter) and then the terrible anxiety about her daughter the Grand Duchess of Hesse, and her son-in-law, and five of their dear children, all fearfully ill of diphtheria, to which fearful disease one sweet little girl fell a victim, upset her a good deal and gave her besides much to write. The Viceroy was very wise in not allowing a large army to be sent for this expedition and she trusts that the Ameer will soon be brought to terms.

The Queen hopes the Viceroy is well and that Lady Lytton, for whose kind letter she is thankful, is so also. With every wish for his success public and private the Queen concludes.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 12*th Dec.* 1878.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that Count Schouvaloff came to him this evening at his request. . . . Lord Salisbury informed Count Schouvaloff, in pursuance of the decision of the Cabinet, that your Majesty's Government, adhering to all the previous engagements entered into with respect to Central Asia, could not sanction or acquiesce in the proposed advice of the Emperor to the Ameer, as that was an exercise of the influence in Afghanistan from which Russia had explicitly promised to abstain: and the mere fact that this interference was intended by the Czar, in a sense friendly to England, did not make it less an interference, or less an infraction of the previous understanding. Lord Salisbury also informed him that to his colleagues and to himself the intelligence was absolutely new that there was still an Embassy at Cabul. They had been informed by M. Giers[1] that it was provisional, and had been a measure adopted in the face of imminent war: and they had also been informed that the envoy had returned. But now that it was conveyed to them for the first time that the Embassy was still there, they certainly could not make use of it for the purpose suggested by the Czar, of recommending the Ameer to make peace: but must object to it entirely as inconsistent with the engagements of Russia, now that peaceful relations were fully established.

---

[1] The Princess Louise, who had accompanied her husband, Lord Lorne, to Canada.

[2] Who died on 28th September 1878.

Some discussion then took place between Count Schouvaloff and Lord Salisbury as to the nature of the former understanding and the extent to which it took any notice of the independence of Afghanistan: and Count Schouvaloff promised to bring to-morrow the despatch of Lord Derby on which in that respect he relied.

He then proposed as a way out of the difficulty "*pour faire sortir notre Ambassade*," that he should write to Lord Salisbury, taking note of the surprise expressed by him at the presence of the Embassy in Cabul: and saying that Russia was willing to remove it at once, if it was understood that the former engagements between Russia and England on the subject of Central Asia had recovered and retained their full vigour. He said, however, that this was only an idea: that he had no authority as yet to propose it: but that when he had, he would bring it to Lord Salisbury in a definite shape.

[1] Russian Foreign Minister.

It was understood, when first the telegram was handed to Lord Salisbury on Tuesday, that if not accepted it was to be absolutely confidential. This evening Lord Salisbury renewed this promise; but said at the same time that it was impossible to treat as confidential the fact of Count Schouvaloff's having told Lord Salisbury of the presence of the Mission at Cabul. This Count Schouvaloff admitted.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th Dec.* 1878.—Terribly anxious day, just like in '61 and '71. At a little after 11, came a telegram from Louis, which gave me an awful shock: "Jenner has just seen Alice,[1] is consulting with doctors. He does not despair, but I see no hope; my prayers are exhausted." This upset me too dreadfully. At the same time came one from Sir William saying: "Have seen the Princess, who was evidently glad to see me. Aspect and pulse better than I expected, extension of disease to wind-pipe, grave symptom." Dear Beatrice and I felt nearly hopeless. My distress great. Walked down to the dear peaceful Mausoleum. Just beyond Frogmore, we met a footman with a telegram. Stopped and read it. It was from Sir William and bore bad tidings: "Disease in wind-pipe extended, difficulty of breathing at times considerable; gravity of condition increased since I last telegraphed. Restlessness very great." Too dreadful! Could settle down to nothing, agony great. Lenchen came to luncheon. All so terribly anxious, hoping—fearing. While we were at tea a telegram came from Sir William, which we hailed with such joy, saying darling Alice "had rallied much, pulse more power, and not more frequent, breathing improved, takes nourishment freely. Altogether more favourable state. Have just seen the Grand Duchess." This was really cheering. It seemed to be like Bertie, who improved that very evening, having been so ill that morning. Bertie and Alix arrived before 6, and were greatly cheered by this news, but they had never taken in the great danger, as we did.

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[1] The Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess Alice, had herself been suffering from diphtheria since 8th December.

We remained talking [after dinner] some time, hoping to hear more, and I sat in my room writing, watching anxiously for every footstep, every door opening! But no news came till late. Alas! very alarming, saying the state of our darling was considered almost hopeless, fever increasing, and strength failing. I would not believe it and felt sure we should have heard from Sir William, were it so. Sent the telegram on to Bertie, who in a few minutes came to me, followed by Leopold, both in sort of smoking jackets, for which they made many excuses, saying, he had a telegram with better news, darling Alice had had two hours' sleep, and taken nourishment, but state remained unchanged. This filled us with hope. Almost at the same time I got the following from Sir William: "The Grand Duchess had some sleep, no change in other condition. Brandy, port wine, milk, eggs, soups, taken freely, our chief hope in support." Went and prayed in that room where darling Alice and I had watched so anxiously between hope and fear, at my beloved one's bedside.

14*th Dec.*—This terrible day come round again! Slept tolerably, but woke very often, constantly seeing darling Alice before me. When I woke in the morning, was not for a moment aware of all our terrible anxiety. And then it all burst upon me. I asked for news, but nothing had come. Then got up and went, as I always do on this day, to the Blue Room, and prayed there. When dressed, I went into my sitting-room for breakfast, and met Brown coming in with two bad telegrams: I looked first at one from Louis, which I did not at first take in, saying: "Poor Mama, poor me, my happiness gone, dear, dear Alice. God's will be done." (I can hardly write it!) The other from Sir Wm. Jenner, saying: "Grand

Duchess became suddenly worse soon after midnight, since then could no longer take any food." Directly after, came another with the dreadful tidings that darling Alice sank gradually and passed away at half past 7 this morning! It was too awful! I had so hoped against hope. Went to Bertie's sitting-room. His despair was great. As I kissed him, he said, "It is the good who are always taken." All in the house were in great distress. Telegrams streaming in all day from all sides. Hardly able to answer them. Had already yesterday countermanded the service in the Mausoleum, for this day. That this dear, talented, distinguished, tender-hearted, noble-minded, sweet child, who behaved so admirably during her dear father's illness, and afterwards, in supporting me, and helping me in every possible way, should be called back to her father on this very anniversary, seems almost incredible, and most mysterious! To me there seems something touching in the union which this brings, their names being for ever united on this day of their birth into another better world!

The Marquis of Salisbury to General Ponsonby.

Foreign Office, 20*th December* [1878].

My dear Ponsonby,—I understand from the Prime Minister that the Queen wishes all despatches forwarded by me, to be initialled with my own hand, in order to show that I have seen them.

This shall, of course, be done.

If her Majesty has no objection, I propose to continue the use of the stamp in addition to the written initial, in order to furnish a legible record of the date when the despatch leaves my hands. I find the record useful in order to ensure that the despatches shall be promptly dealt with in the office. Believe me, yours very truly, Salisbury.

Sir Bartle Frere to General Ponsonby.

PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL, 23*rd December* 1878.

MY DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—You will not I hope be alarmed at the bulk of this packet. The pamphlet will show you the character of the enemy we shall have to deal with, if the Zulus determine to fight us. It embodies nearly all we have been able to learn about their army.

The other paper is Sir Henry Bulwer's version of the results of our careful deliberations over the disputed boundary, and future administration of Zululand. There are two messages to the Zulu King; the second gives an historical summary which will help to explain how the present state of things came about. I had to speak through the Natal Government as the channel best understood by the Zulus, but the facts stated are as correct as we could make them, and might have been painted in much darker colours. But the fact is that, whilst the Boer Republic was a rival and semi-hostile power, it was a Natal weakness rather to pet the Zulus, as one might a tame wolf, who only devoured one's neighbour's sheep. We always remonstrated, but rather feebly, and now that both flocks belong to us we are rather embarrassed in stopping the wolf's ravages.

No language indeed could be too strong for the horrible state of things prevailing across the river not 70 miles from this. I only hope that I may be able to stop it, and to introduce a better order of things, and with the help of the reinforcements now on their way out, I hope to do so with the least possible sacrifice of life. Lord Chelmsford's arrangements are most complete, and it would be difficult to find a better man to undertake such a task.[1] . . .

---

[1] No answer having been returned to the ultimatum sent on 11th December by Sir Bartle Frere, war began with the Zulus early in January 1879, and on the 22nd of the month came the disaster at Isandhlwana, when 800 white soldiers and 500 natives were surprised by the enemy and cut off to a man. It was not till 4th July that the war was brought to an end by a complete victory won by Lord Chelmsford at Ulundi.

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